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Volume XLV, No. 11

# NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

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*George H. Gallup*

- **Partners or Rivals?**

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- **Abuse of the Ballot — Editorial**

- **Charter Campaigning**

*Charlton F. Chute*

**Conference Sights**

**Civic Goals**

**PUBLISHED BY THE NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE**

# National Municipal Review

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Partial view of the well attended opening luncheon of the National Conference on Government, November 11-14, in Memphis, addressed by NML retiring president, George H. Gallup, Robert E. Merriam of the U. S. Bureau of the Budget, and Mayor Edmund Orgill of Memphis.

## *News of the League*

# Conference Sights Civic Goals

"One speech [on problems of metropolitan government] was worth the entire trip to this Conference." This statement, by a Canadian participant in the National Conference on Government, held in Memphis November 11-14, was typical of many heard in the corridors of the Peabody Hotel from persons hailing from communities as widely scattered as Anchorage, Alaska; Tacoma, Washington; Little Rock, Arkansas; San Antonio, Texas; Huntington, West Virginia; Miami, Florida; Pawtucket, Rhode Island.

The program, with emphasis on metropolitan areas, on modern charters

and effective city government, on responsibilities of the states and on practical methods of civic education and citizen participation<sup>1</sup> drew a larger number of people to the Conference city than did any previous Conference. It also commanded extensive press coverage throughout the country. No sooner had one *New York Times* report by Clayton Knowles reached Wisconsin than a request came for permission to reprint a thousand copies for distribution to Wisconsin state and local of-

(Continued on page 571)

<sup>1</sup> See News of the League, the REVIEW, July 1956, page 317.

Annual meeting of National Municipal League members, held at the National Conference on Government at Memphis, hearing a report from Assistant Director John E. Behout on plans for a long-range program to improve state government.





Members of governing Council of National Municipal League gathered informally at Memphis just before holding annual business meeting.

Judge J. Edgar Brown, Birmingham; Edward W. Kuhn, former president, Bar Association of Tennessee; and Richard S. Childs, NML Executive Committee Chairman, planning a Conference session on "Choosing Our Judges."



Orin F. Nolting, executive director, International City Managers' Association, addressing the crowded session on "Best Practice with Council-manager Plan."





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## Editorial Comment

### Abuse of the Ballot

**I**T IS not easy for the voters of a community to make wise decisions, town meeting style, on every problem of government that arises.

Therefore we have governments by representatives who can examine complicated proposals carefully and weigh them dispassionately in the light of the entire governmental picture.

It is a wise city whose people keep this basic fact clearly in mind and who reject the efforts of pressure groups to force on them decisions that should be handled by their chosen representatives.

A case in point was the circulating of a petition by members of the fire department of Baltimore which placed on the November ballot a charter amendment which would give each fireman a \$700 pay raise.

Whether the firemen deserved this raise or not is beside the point. This,

as the Baltimore Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, a citizen research organization, pointed out, should be an administrative decision by designated officials who are in a position to know what the impact of such an increase would be on the city's budget and how it would affect the city's ability to deal fairly and adequately with all the other city employees.

"Asking voters to favor one group over other municipal employees disrupts the established processes of government," concluded the commission in an analysis of the problem. "The proposed charter amendment would subvert orderly budget procedure and sound personnel administration."

Baltimoreans may congratulate themselves on having followed this sound counsel and keeping the lines of responsibility clear.

### The Fourth Year

EDITOR'S NOTE.—This editorial and the cartoon accompanying it are reprinted, with permission, from the *Peoria (Illinois) Journal Star* of July 29, 1956.

**T**HE Peoria municipal government is now well into its fourth year under the council-manager form. It is no longer managing city services on an emergency basis, as it was obliged to at first. With that phase past, it is undertaking projects looking toward new and improved services.

When the present administration took office, the city was in a chaotic

financial condition. Equipment and buildings were depreciated, the sewer system was badly in need of attention and the building and repair of streets was a hit-or-miss business.

Since a big job of organization, analysis and planning was needed, these early problems were handled as emergencies. Gradually they were brought together into an administrative pattern that established order.

The city's financial condition is now sound. The latest six-month comptroller's report shows revenue and expenses well in line with first-

of-the-year estimates, and tax warrant borrowing down by \$100,000. Police, street maintenance and sewer equipment are up to date and fire department equipment is being improved. All nineteen of the city's buildings, representing a value of about \$1,250,000, are in process of repair and rehabilitation. Street improvements are now on a traffic priority basis. Two storm sewer projects are ready to go when property owners agree on a method of financing them.

A new and modern building code has been adopted. A new plumbing code is being studied. Mechanization

of street cleaning is producing cleaner streets at less cost.

A contract has been let for the long needed improvement and expansion of Eckwood park.

The fire department is now equipped with two-way radio.

Every city employee works under conditions stipulated by a new and modern personnel code, the result of almost three years of planning and study.

The city government is now getting into areas of service it couldn't touch while it was busy in the emergency phase. The building department is pressing for the demolition of old, unsafe structures. A curb repair program is under way for the first time in the city's history. The educational stage of air pollution control is over and offenders are being taken into court.

Traffic law enforcement is at an all-time peak. Downtown traffic is now under control of a unified system of lights. For the first time, jaywalking violations are receiving the attention of police.

These are only the highlights, rapidly listed. Today Peoria is a well governed, progressive city. With continued support of its citizens it can continue so and show further improvements in this, the fourth year of council-manager government.

#### A Four-year Drive to Great Accomplishment



Immel — Peoria Journal Star

# A New Campaign Plan

Gallup proposes to limit presidential candidates to six major speeches to end our "quadrennial madness."

By GEORGE H. GALLUP\*

**M**ANY decades ago, a great student of our democracy, James Bryce, aptly described presidential election campaigning as our "quadrennial madness." That term still accurately describes the spectacle which all of us in the United States must witness every four years.

At this time, when the campaign is still fresh in our minds, we should concern ourselves with many of the practices which have assumed some of the character of tribal rituals and which have lost all meaning and sense in this electronic world.

First of all, I question the advisability of a presidential candidate's attempting to make some kind of a speech in virtually every state in the union. Not only does this type of whistle-stop activity require an iron constitution, but the business of shaking hands with everyone in sight and touring a city, waving to voters hanging out of second story windows, reduces a presidential candidate to the level of a pitch man or a carnival barker.

There should be some dignity connected with the office of the presidency and, even if these practices proved successful in winning

votes, they would still be indefensible, in my opinion. But the truth is that, at least at the presidential level, this type of campaigning does not seem to win votes. I defy anyone to analyze the figures in the November election and see any connection between the number of hands shaken by a candidate and the number of votes registered for him. On the surface, there appears to be an inverse relationship.

There are two other very bad features about whistle-stopping. The first is that every candidate thinks he has to say something new every time the train or plane stops, whether he has had time to think about it or not. The newspaper and press representatives who follow the candidates cannot be criticized for getting bored by a standard speech which provides no new headlines. The pressures are constantly on the candidate to come up with some bright new idea, often just to oblige the hard-working journalists who surround him.

The other bad feature is that the crowds normally are made up of two types of people—the just plain curious, whose interest doesn't go much beyond wanting to determine whether the candidate has two heads, and a devoted band of party workers, who have sweated through the previous three days, trying to get out enough of the faithful to impress the party leaders. By the very nature of things, these partisans are not

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\* Dr. Gallup, founder and director of the American Institute of Public Opinion, is the retiring president of the National Municipal League. This article is his presidential address before the League's National Conference on Government, Memphis, Tennessee, November 12, 1956.

satisfied with reasoned arguments that might be aimed at winning independent voters. They are satisfied only with a "give-'em-hell" type of performance from the candidate.

In a subtle and vicious way, the candidate discovers all too soon that the crowds who come to see and hear him respond best to strictly emotional appeals and not to well considered arguments. And unless he is a man of rugged character, he is likely to descend to the level of partisanship of a college cheer leader.

#### **System Doesn't Work**

But the real harm in this, apart from the damage to a candidate's health and sanity, is that the performance doesn't increase the respect of Mr. and Mrs. Voter for politics and government.

Our present system compresses too much politics into too short a time. This is bad in the same way that eating too much food or drinking too much alcohol in too short a time is bad. The result—political indigestion.

The worst thing that can happen to the country is to have the people become bored with politics. They automatically take the position of "Count me out; let those who are interested do the politicking." And you know and I know all too well, that when others do the politicking, we get the kind of government which goes with neglect. We get bad government.

Now what is the answer? Some will say that these practices are so firmly entrenched that nothing can be done. But I am not that pessi-

mistic. All that is required is a gentleman's agreement between the two parties.

I believe that it is possible to have an agreement to limit campaigning to, let us say, six major speeches on the part of each candidate. These speeches would probably be limited to one-half hour, and all television stations in the country would be asked to give this time to each candidate. When the candidate is on the air there would be no competing programs. All TV and radio channels would carry the speech. Certainly, in a democracy which depends upon an informed electorate, this is the least we can expect of our TV and radio networks and the least we can ask of our people.

The speeches would be given in a TV studio and not before audiences whose noisy applause and demonstrations distract both speaker and viewers and consume valuable time. I am certain that every daily newspaper in the country would gladly report in full these campaign speeches.

If less attention is given to campaigns, more attention will be given to politics during the other three years and nine months.

The most obvious political fact is that elections normally are won long before campaigns are launched. It is a stupid waste of money, energy and time to try to do in eight weeks a job which requires four years.

Voters do not live in a political vacuum between campaigns. Part of the millions of dollars raised for the final hectic moments could much better be spent in those quiet periods—months in advance of the elections. And everybody would gain.

# Partners or Rivals?

Merriam tells Memphis Conference of U. S. plans to help each government level complement the others.

By ROBERT E. MERRIAM\*

**T**HE fantastic growth of our cities is one of the most startling phenomena of modern living. Important as is our farm economy and life, and urgent as are needed remedies for present farm ills, the fact remains that today we are predominantly an urban nation. By 1965 seven out of every ten of tomorrow's citizens will live in urban communities which we call metropolitan areas. Today there are 174 of these metropolitan agglomerations containing 100 million people.

Some of these sprawling urban giants now spread out over dozens of political jurisdictions, numerous counties and even several states. The growing pains are acute. The urban centers are choked by transportation difficulties, some are strangled by air pollution, others are threatened by water shortages. The combined efforts of the states and the multitude of local governments have not been enough to keep up with school needs and other public services. And the cores of these vast urban giants in all too many instances have deteriorated to a dangerous extent.

Here, then, is a number one problem for tomorrow.

Basically, what all of us really

want is guidance on where we go from here. How do we make sense out of the tangled array of over 100,000 governments in this country? And most important of all, how do we provide the services which people need and demand if their lives are to be made easier, happier and more productive? Whatever we do or say, we are talking to ourselves unless we are thinking in terms of human beings, their families, their homes, their communities.

When we look at the city in its broadest sense, several facts stand out. First, urbanization is a national phenomenon. It is a by-product of a national way of life. For this reason, if for no other, the national government has an interest in what is happening to the city.

Just think of the programs in which the national government is now engaged to assist cities and their inhabitants. A full listing of them includes: highway construction, flood control and prevention, improvement of rivers, harbors, and waterways, water pollution control, control of communicable diseases including tuberculosis and venereal, services to crippled children, health centers and clinics, disaster relief, civil defense, housing, slum clearance and urban redevelopment, school-lunch program, special problems of federally impacted areas, airports and air terminals, old-age and survivors' insurance for local government employees, hos-

\* Mr. Merriam, a former member of the Chicago city council, is assistant director of the U. S. Bureau of the Budget. This article is his address before the National Municipal League's National Conference on Government, Memphis, Tennessee, November 12, 1956.



pital planning and construction, suppression of crime, general welfare assistance, categorical assistance under the social security act, vocational education, vocational rehabilitation, employment security.

Second, think of the responsibility which states have for cities. They create them. They could even eliminate them as political jurisdictions. They grant them basic charters. And they saddle them with hundreds of restrictions.

Third, local governments themselves, with all their limitations and handicaps, are charged with basic responsibility for many of the activities which make it possible for people to live together in such tightly packed areas: police, fire, schools, sanitation and water are but a few of the many services provided.

#### **We Still Like Cities**

I sometimes feel that our attention is concentrated too much on the confusions, the errors, the headaches of local governments and the cities. The fact is that people do somehow survive despite the crazy-quilt of government. In fact, they seem to thrive on it. And I have yet to hear of a serious back-to-the-farm movement stemming from the horrors of city life.

Perhaps the time has come when we should sit down quietly and dispassionately to ask ourselves how we best can use that which we already have. Haven't we come to the stage where we should stop worrying about how we could mathematically (and theoretically) divide up the responsibilities of the various levels of government into neat and separate packages? Would it not be better

to admit that we are where we are, and then devise newer and better ways to cooperate so that we can go beyond where we are?

An important step in this direction was taken by the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, which President Eisenhower requested and the Congress authorized. The commission, for the first time since the constitution was written, studied this very problem. The history of the commission itself is a perfect example of the schizophrenic nature of our thinking on this subject. Some who blithely talk of states' rights hoped that the commission would recommend the discontinuance of many national services and grant programs (although some of those who cry the loudest about states' rights seem to be the first to come running to Washington for help that perhaps they themselves could provide). Others hoped that the commission would devise dozens of new programs for "Uncle" to carry out. Happily, from where I sit—philosophically as well as officially—neither of these extremes was satisfied. Basically what the commission discovered and reported was that there were no clearly definable lines which could be drawn around the activities of the various levels of government. As the commission itself said:

The national government and the states should be regarded not as competitors for authority but as two levels of government cooperating with or complementing each other in meeting the growing demands on both.

Unless I have badly misread history, this is exactly what the Founding

Fathers had in mind when the federal system was first devised.

Our big problem today, then, is to maintain a proper balance between the various levels of government, to weigh carefully and decide what programs really do have a national interest and to see that the activities of each level of government complement rather than compete with the others. To this aspect of intergovernmental relations, we in Washington have been giving much thought of late. We are doing this in several ways.

First, the Kestnbaum Commission report has now been thoroughly analyzed and scrutinized by the various federal agencies. Some of its recommendations, or variations thereof, already have been submitted to the Congress for consideration: highway legislation has been enacted, school legislation is pending, a bill to provide for limited payments in lieu of taxes was sponsored by the administration and will be reintroduced at the next session of Congress, legislation is being prepared to more clearly define the jurisdiction over various national holdings within the states.

Other actions have been taken to strengthen state and local governments. We have just completed in the Bureau of the Budget the first over-all study of national property holdings, the object of which was to get rid of excess properties and return them to the tax rolls. To date, disposals of excess properties by the General Services Administration have increased in dollar value five-fold in the past three years, declarations by federal agencies of excess properties

have markedly risen, as have transfers of properties between agencies.

We are about to appoint an inter-agency task force to get down to bedrock in analyzing the impact of the national government on metropolitan areas.

And, perhaps most important of all, the President has established a focal point for the continued consideration of intergovernmental relations. Governor Howard Pyle of the White House staff has been designated as deputy assistant to the President for intergovernmental relations.

#### **Budget Bureau Cooperates**

The Bureau of the Budget is "backstopping" the new operation, and specifically Governor Pyle was directed, as the result of presidential and cabinet decision, to maintain liaison with federal organizations in the field, to form *ad hoc* working committees from among federal officials to grapple with specific problems concerning state and local governments, with the assistance of its chairman, Mr. Kestnbaum, to follow through on the findings and recommendations of the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, to explore the feasibility of establishing regional intergovernmental boards, to develop periodic reports on the national government's relations with and proposed actions involving state and local governments, and to make such special studies as may be required.

What does all of this mean? First, let me make it clear that those of us in the executive branch of the national government who have been charged with the responsibility of

operating the liaison unit for federal-state-local relations recognize that any immediate contribution on the part of the national government will be a modest one. It is our hope that the contribution will become larger as time goes on.

Governor Pyle and I are under no illusion that we shall overnight resolve all, or most, or even many, of the knotty problems built up by big government in a big and growing country. But we are proud to be party to a pioneering step in the national government's formal recognition of the existence of this urgent problem. We could build up a whole Pentagon full of workers assisting us, so complex are the interrelationships. But within the limitations of the time of Pyle, Merriam and several assistants, we hope we can be of help.

Needless to say, both Governor Pyle and I are guided by the basic philosophy of the President that:

The federal government did not create the states in this republic. The states created the federal government. The creation should not supersede the creator. For if the states lose their meaning, our entire system of government loses its meaning and the next step is the rise of the centralized national state in which the seeds of autocracy can take root and grow.

Of course, the national government will and should continue those services and aids to local governments which are in the national interest. However, the question of what constitutes national interest is one of the complexities which makes it more difficult to determine the exact nature of what the national governmental role should be.

Obviously, when a need is nationwide, where local fiscal capacity is unable to cope with the problem, or where cooperative arrangements between the national government and the state and local governments can most profitably be effected, then the national interest represents what otherwise would be interloping and intervening in the affairs of, and the ability of, people to govern themselves locally.

#### Unified Approach

Our task will be to see that the huge and diverse operations of multi-fold government agencies begin to be pulled together into a unified approach. We want to end the day when federal agencies, whether unintentionally and unwittingly or not, contradict or reverse each other as a result of programs operating solely on a functional basis, with no over-all consideration of government-wide policies.

Possibly we are moving towards the day when the national government will give intergovernmental problems the same over-all and central attention that our own Bureau of the Budget gives to appropriation requests, legislative programs and organizational problems. Perhaps today in the intergovernmental field we are about where we were in the days just before the budget and accounting act was made law.

But if the years ahead bring more coordinated direction and consideration of the national activities in intergovernmental matters, success can be achieved only if the state and local governments provide us with a corresponding degree of unification and coordination. How else could a co-

ordinated national program of assistance to states and localities be successful? Our problem today is that even when we know what we would like to do, with whom do we talk and develop coordinated programs to achieve our mutual objective? Several states? A score of counties? Dozens of municipalities and special-purpose units? What is the plan of the region for its own development?

Without the answers to these questions, even the best organized national program will stumble into a morass of confusion, divided authority and lack of planning which all too often characterizes our urban areas today. This is the other side of my premise that intergovernmental relations are going to remain intertangled relations.

#### NML's Role

The National Municipal League's outstanding role over the decades as a citizen organization dedicated to better local and state governments prompts this quotation from the report of the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations:

While the strengthening of each state must be brought about according to its needs by its own citizens, the people and leaders of the several states should help one another to the fullest extent possible in this essentially common effort. There should

be extensive interchange of plans, studies, proposals and experience. A certain amount of research as well as general public education on the importance, functions, nature and problems of state and local governments could best be accomplished through cooperation among the states. National organizations both of state and local officials and of citizens could perform important services along these lines and could help state and local groups with tasks in their own states and communities. A voluntary nation-wide citizens' committee might be organized to facilitate the cooperation of diverse groups and to keep public attention firmly fixed on the ultimate goal.

There is much food for thought in this quotation.

The coordinated attention which this problem will now receive at the national level is a realization that we are faced with a new question that will require a new answer. All levels of government should be stimulated and aroused to a similar realization that their problems are interdependent and intertwined, that government as a whole must cooperate to make the most of this great nation. There must be a general realization that government and its citizens together share a joint responsibility to preserve, protect and promote the greatest system ever devised for real democratic rule—our federal system of divided governmental responsibilities.

# Charter Campaigning

Continuing process of recruitment, public education and leadership by drafters seen as principal needs.

By CHARLTON F. CHUTE\*

**T**O COVER adequately the subject of charter campaigning means discussion of such subjects as its planning, public education through the use of various media, the recruitment and employment of leadership and the important matter of campaign finance.

Before rushing headlong into a discussion of the details of such matters, however, it is of vital importance that we have a clear definition of what is meant by the term "charter campaign." Too often it is hastily assumed to mean only the campaign activity that occurs in the brief interval between the time a proposed charter is filed and the election day on which its fate is decided. This thinking is sometimes accompanied by the statement that the proper function of the charter commission is to write a new charter and there its responsibility ends; someone else will have to campaign for its adoption. This, it seems to me, is a great mistake and one that accounts for more than one charter campaign failure.

If we assume that the objective is writing a better city charter and securing its adoption by a majority vote at the polls and electing able

city officials of good will who will govern the city in accordance with the spirit of the new charter, then it is important that we take a somewhat broader view of the term "charter campaign." It should be regarded, I believe, as a continuing process which starts before the members of the charter commission are selected, and its effects, to say the least, continue long after the charter is adopted.

This means that, instead of looking forward to, say, a three-months "campaign" we can consider one with a length perhaps five times as great in a large city. This is good, for it gives sufficient time to enable many working for the adoption of a new charter to succeed, whereas failure occurs too often under the older definition. What many have regarded as "the campaign" should more properly be considered as "the *final* campaign."

The advantages of this shift in point of view are many. For example:

1. Those who first meet together to advocate a new charter should, and doubtless will, recognize that they are likely to become the nucleus of the groups and leaders that will plan and conduct the final campaign.

2. The recruitment of leaders (and followers) is a continuous process. Leaders of various clubs and associations who appear at public hearings of the charter commission participate in making the new char-

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ter, and most will probably join with other leaders and speakers in the final campaign.

### **Educating the Public**

3. The process of public education on charter matters should also have an early start and be a continuous one, not something that begins only when the proposed charter is filed. Members of the charter commission should develop a sound public relations program. They and other leaders in the charter movement should speak before clubs and at other meetings while the charter is being written and also on radio and TV. It is true they will not, at that time, be able to present the conclusions of the commission, but they can discuss the problems of the charter and set forth intelligently the various alternatives being considered. They can invite their audiences to present suggestions and points of view to the commission. It is most helpful to ultimate success for the public to realize that commission members have an open mind and are men of intelligence and good will.

Newspapers can begin the process of public education at an early date with a series of background articles on the problem, and continue with news items and editorials on the proposals made from time to time.

On the other hand, one of the greatest mistakes a charter commission can make is to discourage public participation and hold its sessions behind closed doors. While the prime purpose of public hearings before the charter commission is to bring to that body needed facts and points of view, it is also true that such hear-

ings contribute to the education of those who come to speak, of the associations they represent and, through reports in the press, the general public.

The newer device of holding public hearings in different parts of the city, instead of only in city hall, as used by Newark, New Jersey, a few years ago and in Honolulu in recent months, has a great deal to offer in the development of a sound public relations policy.

The device of printing and distributing a draft of a proposed charter for public criticism and comment before preparing the final draft, which was first employed in New York City in 1936, has great advantages. Its chief merit, of course, relates to writing a good charter but indirectly, through the draft itself and newspaper discussion of it, it contributes greatly to general public education.

Writing a new charter is an excellent subject for civics courses in school systems. Debates, essays and scrapbooks of school children contribute importantly to public education because, among other advantages, the children take the story home to parents.

4. Although campaign funds may not have been actually collected in large amounts by the time the charter draft is filed, potential contributors should have become well educated on the city's charter problems and the conscientious search being conducted for appropriate solutions on the part of the commission and community leaders.

5. Members of the charter commission itself have a responsibility to the campaign. They must not only



write a good charter but write the best one that can be adopted. This is to say that their function, when regarded realistically, is not to write a charter in the abstract but rather to write one for the approval of the electorate. For example, it should not be written in a form comprehensible only to lawyers.

The final draft should be accompanied by a popularly written, brief "Report to the Voters" in which the commission explains in nontechnical English the main goals it has attempted to reach and why it believes the voters should adopt the proposed charter. The "Report to the Voters" can serve as a press release when the draft charter is filed and as a useful summary for the interested voter of the high points in the new document. It can be reprinted and used widely later as a piece of campaign literature. It can disarm the opposition by making clear that certain plausible misinterpretations of the proposed charter itself were not intended. Some, and perhaps all, of the members of the charter commission should become active in the final campaign. No one can so well explain and debate its provisions as those who participated in drafting them.

Thus, by this approach, the ground should have been well broken and cultivated, so that on the eve of the final campaign:

1. Leaders will have been identified. They can be variously used as planners, directors, fund raisers or speakers.

2. The educational effort of the final campaign will rest on a sound foundation of general discussion of

charter problems and possible solutions during the preceding months. No one should be startled by the content of the proposed charter.

3. Potential contributors should have had their interest aroused and in many cases their sympathy and direct participation will have been obtained.

Some charter campaigns have failed because of insufficient manpower. A successful charter movement can start with only half a dozen people but in the final campaign in a large American city dozens of capable speakers will be needed on a given day and the demand for printed campaign literature will seem insatiable. To meet these requirements, for example, in a city of 2,000,000 population, several hundred well informed leaders and workers must be recruited. For the most part they can be found among those who appear at the public hearings of the charter commission and among the past and present officers of the city's clubs and associations of various kinds.

#### **The Final Campaign**

The final campaign should be conducted with the realization that the city's voters really compose several different publics. There is probably no set of advantages in the proposed charter that will appeal specially to all parts of the voting public. Some will be interested in better representation in city council, others in cutting taxes—or at least in efficiency and economy, others in a higher level of professionalization for city employees and for a better quality of public service and so on. Speakers and campaign literature must be pre-

pared to discuss the merits of the proposed charter from these various points of view.

Now, what media should be used to carry these messages in the final campaign? Mass meetings; talks by trained speakers before clubs and associations; speeches, debates and spot announcements on radio and TV; paid advertising; posters, bumper cards and elevator cards; trailers for movie theaters; free distribution of tabloid newspapers; hand bills, leaflets and mailing pieces; doorbell ringing and a phone call campaign; even a city-wide district and block organization—they all have their advocates and uses. Some are more expensive than others, and some take more time and effort than others.

#### Newspaper Support

My experience and observation is that excellent newspaper support is clearly the most valuable media. This is true for at least five reasons: (1) Newspapers usually have a greater circulation than any other printed medium, (2) they have a daily impact whereas the person to person contact is likely to be a one-shot affair, (3) they can catch the voters' attention through novelty such as a well conceived cartoon or editorial on the front page, (4) they can show more effectively than most other media just how solidly the community is behind the proposed charter as indicated by endorsements of diverse clubs and associations such as the chamber of commerce, labor, veterans and neighborhood associations

and others, (5) it is not necessary to have a large campaign fund to get good newspaper support for a well written charter that truly meets a need.

There are, of course, some small cities, and some suburban cities of considerable size, that may not be able to marshal powerful newspaper support. In such cases greater reliance must be placed on the energies of a small group of dedicated leaders.

Just a word about campaign literature. In general, I believe it should be brief and should tell the story in clear, simple and attractive style, with good illustrations or cartoons. Too often a comparison of the old charter and the proposed charter will recite bare facts, such as changing a "bicameral council to an unicameral council." This has meaning for the political scientist but campaign literature addressed to the laymen should go further and answer two questions: "Is this good?" "Why is it good?"

Complacency about the outcome of a charter campaign is a luxury that cannot be afforded. In many campaigns the opposition has based its strategy on distortions that are circulated in the last few days before election, when it is too late to print and distribute an adequate reply. I know of only two ways to guard against this: (1) Have so thorough a campaign of education that voters cannot be stampeded at the last moment, and (2) reliance on the newspapers, with their quick printing and distribution, to correct any last-minute campaign of distortions.

# News in Review

City, State and Nation

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## Many Amendments Submitted to Voters

### Constitution Changes Show Great Variety

**N**UMEROUS state constitutional amendments were submitted to popular vote at the November 6 election and the voters displayed much discrimination, wise or otherwise, in dealing with them. The numbers, state to state, varied from zero to as many as 58 in Georgia and 48 in Louisiana, including a large number of local and other matters that were hardly of constitutional caliber. The more significant ones are reported on herewith, so far as information has been made available.

#### Alabama

A proposal to reapportion the legislature, which has not been done since 1901 when the present constitution was adopted, was defeated about two to one. As to the Senate it would have provided one member for each county, thus increasing the size of the Senate from 35 to 67. Such a proposal has been submitted twice before, without success. The currently proposed amendment would also have increased the lower house, from 106 to 152, on a somewhat better basis as to population, in contrast to the proposed Senate change.

#### Arkansas

Nine amendments were voted on. Among those adopted was one backed by the Arkansas Farm Bureau Federation, freezing the present Senate districts. Heretofore the Senate was supposed to redistrict after each decennial federal census; this tended to give more seats to urban senators, with the shift of popula-

tion to the cities. The rural voters succeeded in stopping this. An amendment against school integration also won, together with an "interposition" resolution and an initiated act providing for pupil assignment by local school boards. An amendment increasing workmen's compensation insurance benefits appeared to have the largest favorable margin.

#### Colorado

Three amendments were approved and two were defeated. The first of those approved extends the term of elective state officials—governor, lieutenant governor, secretary of state, auditor, treasurer and attorney general—from two to four years, effective January 1, 1959, following the next election (in 1958). The second exempts from taxation household furniture and other personal effects not used for the production of income.

The other approved amendment (No. 5) liberalizes somewhat Colorado's old-age pension plan—already the most liberal in the nation—but makes possible the use of part of the taxes (sales, liquor and use taxes) now earmarked for pensions for general state needs. Instead of pensions being determined principally by the amount of available revenue, a basic minimum of \$100 per month is established, subject to increase by the board of public welfare if warranted by inflationary conditions. Health and medical benefits are also provided.

The new plan is expected to insure continuance of federal aid for the pension program, such aid now being considered in jeopardy. Federal aid for health services will also become available. The \$100 payment, plus about \$15 for health benefits, compares with existing pensions of about \$112. It is hoped that with the increase in the number of retired persons receiving federal social security

benefits, transfer of part of the earmarked tax funds to the general fund may begin after 1960.

The defeated proposals (Nos. 3 and 4) dealt with civil service and legislative apportionment. The legislature, as compared to the Civil Service Commission, would have had somewhat more authority in setting general personnel policies than at present. Various specific changes were proposed, including the elimination of the present requirement that "all appointees shall be qualified electors of the state" (hence no one under 21 can be hired). The governor would also have a confidential exempt staff of six instead of three.

The apportionment amendment would have required legislative districting by the State Supreme Court after each census on a straight population basis, instead of "according to ratios to be fixed by law."

#### Georgia

The voters approved 58 amendments; six are of statewide applicability and 52 affect only specific cities or other political subdivisions.<sup>1</sup> The chief general amendment concerns the amending process.<sup>2</sup> It provides that amendments of local application shall be advertised and voted on only in the area affected. It thus reduces expense and simplifies the process, but does not curtail the large number of local amendments.

The five other amendments of statewide application may be summarized as follows: (1) A bounty of \$250,000 is authorized for the person producing the first commercial oil well in Georgia; (2) judges emeritus of the Supreme Court, Court of Appeals and Superior Courts are made eligible for temporary service on the courts of which they were former judges; (3) the legislature is authorized to consider business pending at the ad-

journment of any regular session of the same legislature; (4) the Supreme Court and the Court of Appeals are given jurisdiction to review by direct writ of error final judgments rendered by juvenile courts; (5) the legislature is prohibited from diminishing the salary of any elective officer stated in the constitution.

#### Louisiana

More proposed amendments than ever—48 in all—were passed upon by Louisiana voters on November 6. All 48 were favored by the state administration, but 21 or more appeared, five days after the election, to have been defeated. These included proposals to abolish four constitutional boards—for highways, public welfare, institutions and wildlife, and fisheries—and to empower the governor to appoint two additional public utility commissioners. Efforts to weaken civil service and to abolish the "fiscal session" of the legislature also failed.

Among the winning amendments were those to do the following: authorize local school boards, on vote of property taxpayers, to increase the school maintenance tax to seven mills; require permission of the legislature before school and recreational agencies can be sued (this being directed against desegregation suits); complete the payment of the state bonus to Korean veterans (by means of a \$2,000,000 bond issue); permit new residents to vote after one year; and authorize retired judges to help relieve court congestion.

#### Maryland

Seven amendments were approved. They do as follows: (1) Allow county councils to sit 45 days a year (now limited to 30); (2) prohibit the introduction of bills during the last ten days of a 30-day session of the legislature or the last 20 of a 90-day session, except by consent of two-thirds of the members; (3) require the governor to submit interim appointments to the legislature, on the first

<sup>1</sup> See page 545, this issue.

<sup>2</sup> See the REVIEW, November 1955, page 522.

day of each session, for confirmation; (4) require newly elected governors to submit their budgets ten days earlier than heretofore; (5) liberalize absentee voting by permitting bedridden or hospitalized citizens to vote whether they are in or out of their voting districts at the time of their confinement; (6) eliminate the provision that Orphans' Court judges are paid only for days when they actually sit; and (7) eliminate a mass of obsolete and contradictory material from the constitution.

#### Missouri

The voters defeated a proposed amendment to add a legislative session in even-numbered years to deal with appropriation and revenue measures, to permit the legislature to fix the compensation of its members, and to require a special session to consider vetoes by the governor.<sup>1</sup>

#### Nevada

Four amendments proposed by the legislature were adopted: (1) Providing for appointment instead of election of the state superintendent of public instruction; (2) providing that all members of the armed forces who are otherwise eligible to vote be properly registered and permitted to vote; (3) enabling the state to tax federal property in the event that Congress permits it; and (4) providing that money paid to the State Industrial Commission for industrial accidents, occupational diseases and administration may not be diverted for other purposes.

#### New Hampshire

All three amendments on New Hampshire's ballot were adopted by overwhelming majorities. They provided: (1) Absentee voting in primary elections; (2) the right of trial by jury in civil cases in which the value in controversy exceeds \$500 (the present limit is \$100); (3) the right of the governor,

while absent from the state on official business, to have the power and authority to transact such business.

#### North Carolina

On September 8 the voters adopted four amendments. One of these gives the people of communities designated "local option units" the right to close a school or schools, upon majority vote of the people, and also authorizes the state and local school authorities to pay "education expense grants" to non-sectarian private schools for children whose parents or guardians are unwilling for them to go to "a public school attended by a child of another race," or for other children where no public school is available. A second gives the legislature the right to increase its pay and expense allowances up to the level allowed any boards or commissions for which it fixes compensation. A third changes the date of the legislative session from January 1 to February 1. The fourth authorizes married women to exercise powers of attorney given them by their husbands.

#### Ohio

By a vote margin of 4-3 Ohio voters approved an amendment providing four-year terms for members of the Senate. The action reverses a 1954 vote when four-year terms were rejected by a 6-5 margin. The amendment will become effective in part in the 1958 election. In districts having two or more senators, half will be elected for four-year terms, the remainder for the present two-year terms, until 1960. As to districts of one senator each, half will be placed under four-year tenure in 1958 and the other half will follow in 1960.

#### Oregon

Five amendments were submitted. Three were approved. One of these authorizes the state to accept corporation stock that has been donated or bequeathed to the state. Another repeals an obso-

<sup>1</sup> See the REVIEW, October 1956, page 448.

lete provision in the 1859 constitution setting the annual salaries of the governor and the secretary of state at \$1,500, that of the state treasurer at \$800 and that of Supreme Court judges at \$2,000. The Supreme Court in 1936 ruled that the legislature could authorize salaries in excess of these amounts, which has been done. The third amendment authorizes the legislature to prescribe qualifications for county coroners and surveyors.

One of the defeated proposals would have increased legislators' annual salaries from \$600 to \$1,200. The vote was close. The other would have permitted the legislature to include an emergency clause in any tax law, thus permitting it to go into effect immediately.

#### Texas

The voters overwhelmingly approved eight amendments. Three dealt primarily with taxes and finance. The others do as follows: (1) Authorize the legislature to grant aid and compensation to persons who have paid fines or been imprisoned for offenses of which they were not guilty; (2) authorize the legislature to revise the teachers' retirement system and to increase state and employee contributions to the system, up to 6 per cent of annual salaries of \$8,400 or less; (3) provide separate forms of oaths for appointive and elective officials; (4) require medical or psychiatric testimony for commitment of persons of unsound mind, and authorize waiver of jury trial in commitment cases where a criminal offense is not involved; (5) permit a judge or magistrate to deny bail when the accused person has twice before been convicted of felonies; the right of appeal and a speedy trial are provided for.

#### Washington

Five amendments were submitted. Three that carried have the following requirements: (1) To increase the number of signatures required on initiative petitions to 8 per cent of the last vote

#### *Mistakes in Texas Are the Biggest, Too*

DALLAS, Nov. 13 (AP) — About 200,000 Texans went to the polls today in a "mistake" election that will cost about a quarter of a million dollars.

The voting is on an amendment to the state constitution. It was intended for the ballot in last Tuesday's general election, when eight other amendments passed.

But the legislative act calling for the proposal cited the "second Tuesday in November" for the election. It should have read the "first Tuesday after the first Monday."

The amendment, if approved, would qualify nearly 15,000 permanently disabled citizens for state aid.

New York Times, November 14, 1956

for governor (at present no more than 50,000 are required) and to 4 per cent in the case of referendum petitions (now needing only 30,000); the minimum numbers now become about 86,000 and 43,000, respectively; (2) to remove the present limit of one successive term for the state treasurer; (3) to require county commissioners, in filling vacancies in the legislature, to appoint a member of the same political party as the former member from lists of three nominees submitted by the county committees of the parties.

One defeated proposal would have made it possible to increase pensions of public officers during their terms of office; the other would have permitted the state to take immediate possession of property for highway or other public purposes after filing condemnation proceedings and paying into court such amount as would be provided by law.



### **Washington State Reapportionment Carries**

The voters of the state of Washington on November 6 approved, by a narrow margin, the initiative proposal to redistrict the state for purposes of legislative elections. The proposition had been sponsored by the state League of Women Voters. (See the REVIEW, April 1956, page 175, and October, page 447.)

### **Congressional Apportionment Loses in Oklahoma**

An initiative proposal to redistrict the state of Oklahoma for congressional elections received a majority of the votes cast thereon but failed of adoption because it did not receive a majority of the total vote at the November 6 election. The proposal was sponsored by the Republican party and would have established six districts of nearly equal population, the greatest variation being 1.46 per cent from the average, based on the 1950 census. The present six districts vary from 6 to 28 per cent from the average.

### **Louisiana Turns Down Convention Proposal**

On November 6 Louisiana voters rejected, over five to one, the plan to hold a constitutional convention early in 1957.<sup>1</sup> It had been strongly advocated by Governor Earl K. Long and his faction of the Democratic party as well as by the "old regular" faction. Opponents feared that it would endanger existing constitutional safeguards as to civil service, home rule, the two-thirds legislative vote required for tax increases and others. They felt that piecemeal amendment, despite its drawbacks, is preferable to a new constitution drafted under present political conditions.

<sup>1</sup> See the REVIEW, September 1956, page 391.

### **Georgia Court Castigates Local Constitution Changes**

The voters in Georgia on November 6 approved 58 constitutional amendments, 52 of which affect only particular political subdivisions.<sup>1</sup> These local amendments deal with such matters as refunding the bonded indebtedness of a particular city, changing the method of electing a county school superintendent, or permitting a designated county to spend money for mosquito control. In *Roberts v. Suttles*, 212 Ga. 138, a case decided in 1956, the Georgia Supreme Court observed: "We are not unmindful of the argument that this is a very dangerous way in which to deal with the fundamental law of our state and that the constitution is rapidly becoming a hodgepodge of so-called general provisions with local application. . . . We agree that the fundamental law of our state, the constitution, by this method is being undermined and destroyed."

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<sup>1</sup> See page 542, this issue.

### **'Right to Work' Laws Win and Lose**

Nevada, at the November 6 election, voted to retain its so-called "right to work" law, which forbids the union shop, or any action having the effect of forcing a person to join a labor union. The law was adopted in 1952, when it was approved by a vote of 38,823 to 37,789. In 1954 it was retained by a vote of 38,480 to 36,434. The latest vote was approximately 45,000 to 39,000.

In the state of Washington an initiative proposal to forbid any requirement for or against union membership was overwhelmingly defeated.

### **Council-Manager Plan Developments**

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS, (1950 population 102,213) voted over two to one on November 6 to adopt the council-manager plan as set forth in Arkansas statutes. A board of seven "directors" is to be chosen at a special election on or after January 7, 1957. This is the first adoption of the council-manager plan in Arkansas. With Little Rock there will be seventeen state capitals under the council-manager plan.

OSHKOSH, WISCONSIN, (41,084) adopted the council-manager plan by a vote of 7,190 to 6,129 on November 6. It will replace a mayor-council form of government.

DENISON, TEXAS, (17,504) chose the council-manager plan by a vote of 1,690 to 689 on October 23. The plan is contained in a new charter drafted by a charter commission elected early in 1956. The plan will replace a 50-year-old aldermanic form. A new council of five is scheduled for election on December 4, to take office December 11.

At the November 6 election voters of HERMOSA BEACH, CALIFORNIA, (14,004) approved an ordinance providing the council-manager plan which had been passed by the city council on May 21. The vote for the plan was two to one; 90 per cent of the voters expressed their preference on the issue. An acting city manager has been appointed.

The board of commissioners of the township of BRISTOL, PENNSYLVANIA, (12,710) on October 10 unanimously adopted an ordinance to establish the council-manager plan, effective upon the appointment of a manager, which is expected to be done by the board early in 1957. Bristol is near the Fairless Works

of the U.S. Steel Corporation and contains part of the new residential community of Levittown, Pennsylvania.

The mayor and council of KELLOGG, IDAHO, (4,913) unanimously voted on October 11 to establish the office of city manager and proceeded to take steps towards obtaining an experienced man to occupy the post.

WORTHINGTON, OHIO, (2,141) voted 2,334 to 598 on November 6 to adopt council-manager government. The plan becomes effective November 18, 1957.

NEW BALTIMORE, MICHIGAN, (2,043) on November 6 adopted two charter amendments to establish council-manager government. One amendment, providing that the city council create the office of city manager and specify his duties, carried by 356 to 141; another providing for the appointment of a city manager and a city attorney by the council within 30 days of taking office in 1956, and also for appointment of the treasurer and the assessor in 1958 after the general election, carried by 338 to 223. All four officials will hold office at the pleasure of the council.

Voters of LOCKPORT, NEW YORK, defeated a proposed charter amendment to establish the council-manager plan, 4,344 to 3,792, on November 6. The total vote represented 63 per cent of the registration. The proposed plan included election of all councilmen by the city as a whole. Opponents asserted that this would prevent representation of the minority party—at present the Democratic party.

A proposed council-manager charter was defeated 5,443 to 2,710 in OLEAN, NEW YORK, on November 6. Olean now has a mayor-council form of government. (See also page 559, this issue.)

ROCKAWAY TOWNSHIP, NEW JERSEY, voted 1,255 to 1,030 on November 6 against adoption of the council-manager plan proposed by a charter commission. On the same day HAMILTON TOWNSHIP, NEW JERSEY, defeated a similar proposal 13,496 to 7,385.

ELYRIA, OHIO, on November 6 defeated

a proposal for adoption of the council-manager plan by a three-to-one vote.

EAU CLAIRE, WISCONSIN, voted 7,868 to 6,450 on November 6 to retain its council-manager plan dating from 1949.

A statewide organization to oppose the council-manager plan, known as the Home Rule Association, has been formed in ILLINOIS. Some 42 representatives from various cities attended the organization meeting.

AURORA, ILLINOIS, defeated a council-manager proposal on November 6 by a vote of 13,997 to 10,672.

The League of Women Voters of ALTON, ILLINOIS, is circulating petitions calling for a vote on the council-manager plan.

The village council of BROOKLYN CENTER, MINNESOTA, has created the position of village administrator, with duties said to be similar to those of a village manager. The present village engineer, who will retain his engineering duties, was selected for the position and will be in charge of all village offices.

EAST RIDGE, TENNESSEE, defeated a series of propositions that would have increased its home rule powers; one of them would have provided a council-manager form of government.

In MEXICO, MISSOURI, a petition calling for a referendum on the question of abandoning the council-manager plan was filed with the city clerk on November 3.

A proposal for a special election on the question of adopting the council-manager plan in PASCO, CALIFORNIA, has been unanimously endorsed by the board of directors of the Chamber of Commerce.

The 42nd annual conference of the International City Managers' Association was held in Banff, Alberta, Canada, September 16-19, with 332 city and county managers present and a total attendance of 620. Seven managers who have completed a quarter-century of service were awarded 25-year certificates, bringing to 82 the number who have been thus honored since the practice was instituted in

1943. Samuel E. Vickers, manager of Long Beach, California, was elected president of the association. The 1957 conference will be in Washington, D. C., October 20-24.

### **Hartford Rejects Attempt to Weaken Charter**

Four proposed amendments to the council-manager charter of Hartford, Connecticut, were defeated at the November 6 election. Three of these had been criticized as tending to weaken council-manager government. One was for direct election of the mayor; at present the councilman receiving the highest vote is designated mayor. Another would have provided annual salaries for the council (\$2,000 per councilman, with \$2,500 for the mayor). A third would have permitted city employment of councilmen one year after their terms of office, instead of two years as at present. A fourth would have made the term of the appointed town and city clerk indefinite, instead of two years; although this would seem advantageous, the amendment fell with the others.

The voters also defeated three proposals to ask the legislature to transfer from the city manager to the mayor (with council confirmation) the power to appoint the zoning board of appeals, the housing authority and the redevelopment agency.

### **99.02% Turnout Vote**

CORTLAND, N. Y., Nov. 7 (AP)—Only eighty of 8,249 voters registered in this central New York city of about 18,000 failed to cast their ballots in yesterday's election. The total vote was 99.02 per cent of the registration.

New York Herald Tribune, November 8, 1956

### **Three-city Merger Fails in Virginia**

Although a majority (16,913 to 12,638) of those voting on the proposal favored the consolidation of Newport News, Hampton and Warwick, Virginia, into a new municipality to be called Port City,<sup>1</sup> it failed of legal adoption inasmuch as the vote in Hampton was adverse by 7,048 to 6,192. A majority in each municipality was required. The new city would have had a population of over 190,000 and a land area of 121 square miles.

### **Omaha Adopts Strong Mayor Plan**

On November 6 the voters of Omaha, Nebraska, approved a strong mayor form of government presented by a group that had been working on charter revision. The superseded commission plan government has had seven commission members and the precedent has been to designate as mayor the one with the highest vote; the others headed various departments. Under the new plan the mayor will be elected as such and will be the administrative head of the city. There will be seven commissioners or councilmen, who will have legislative duties only.

### **Contests Provided in Rhode Island Primaries**

Under Rhode Island's direct primary law candidates for nomination to party or public office come forward, the party management endorses one for each office and such endorsed candidates are identified on the party primary ballots by an asterisk. Other aspirants can, if sufficiently nimble, get themselves on the ballot, too. If no such contest, no primary. The September 1956 primaries provided the eighth year of the system

in Rhode Island. It resembles the *Model Direct Primary Election System* of the National Municipal League and the system used in Connecticut in 1956.

The 1956 primary elections were all local—for legislators, city, town and party officers. The Republican primaries September 18 produced a crop of contests, most of which were won by endorsed candidates in light turnouts from 10 per cent up. In eleven communities the endorsed tickets won but in one, Exeter, there was a 62 per cent turnout and unendorsed candidates made a clean sweep of thirteen offices plus the seven-member Republican town committee. In Pawtucket unendorsed candidates won fourteen out of 42 places on the Republican city committee and captured the nomination of two of the four places in the state House of Representatives. In Providence a single contest, for state senator, brought out only 4 per cent of the eligible party members. In East Providence, with a 20 per cent turnout, a "Citizens League" won two of six ward contests for town council and tied another with 218 votes. The Citizens League announced it would run independent candidates in the final election. Almost all defeated unendorsed candidates mustered votes enough to justify forcing reference to the party members.

In the Democratic primary, held separately at duplicate expense for no plausible reason on September 27, unendorsed candidates won six out of 33 legislative nominations. The CIO went after two incumbent legislators, who had voted against a minimum wage bill, without success. Voting was generally light but hot fights with good turnout developed in three towns, beating two endorsed candidates for state senator.

R.S.C.

### **Civil Service Assembly Has 50 Years, New Name**

The Civil Service Assembly, celebrating its golden anniversary, will move into

<sup>1</sup> See the REVIEW, October 1956, page 443.

its second half-century under a new name, Public Personnel Association, effective January 1, 1957.

Kenneth Warner, director of the organization, points out that the first "assembly" was attended by 60 civil service commissioners, while this year more than 1,000 personnel officials celebrated the 50th anniversary. Instead of twenty agency members exchanging occasional ideas, today more than 450 personnel and civil service agencies maintain a network of communications. These agencies provide personnel services to about 4,000,000 public employees.

The assembly established headquarters at the public administration center known as 1313 in Chicago in 1935. At that time a grant from the Spelman Fund, a branch of the Rockefeller Foundation, enabled it to staff its new offices and to expand its program. In the same year the monthly *News Letter* was launched. The current publications program, greatly expanded, includes such titles as *Public Relations for Government Employees*, *Personality Tests—Uses and Limitations*, and *The Work of Civil Service Commissions*.

Around 1937 there was a period of great expansion for the merit system. The assembly, the National Civil Service Reform League and the National Municipal League collaborated at that time in drafting a *Model State Civil Service Law*, which has had notable influence on state civil service legislation.

To keep the organization's activities up to date more than a dozen new committees were activated in 1955 and 1956. They are concerned with organizational matters as well as with such areas as standardized tests, teaching civics and establishing relations with other agencies concerned with personnel administration.

A committee was also named to develop guide lines for the operation of public personnel agencies in disaster preparedness programs, a reminder of the

atomic age undreamed of when the assembly was founded.

### **R. I. Judge Follows Home Rule Amendment**

The Rhode Island Legislature was charged with violation of the home rule amendment to the state constitution in passing an enabling act without providing for a referendum, according to a recent decision by Judge Fred B. Perkins in Newport Superior Court. He granted a preliminary injunction to Mrs. Candace Van Alen and others in her petition against Mayor J. J. Sullivan and other Newport officials, to prevent the city from taking over her seaside land for fishing piers, under an act passed by the legislature last winter. As the home rule amendment requires that any act authorizing a municipality to take action must provide for a local referendum, he held the act to be unconstitutional.

This is said to be the first official recognition of a violation of the amendment by the legislature, of which there are claimed to be many.

### **More Offices Merged in Wisconsin Municipalities**

*The Municipality*, organ of the League of Wisconsin Municipalities, announces in its October issue that since early in 1954 at least 33 cities and 18 villages have combined the offices of clerk and treasurer; in most instances they are on an appointive basis. Three cities and two villages have combined the duties of clerk, treasurer and assessor; in most cases the work of utility bookkeeper is added and, in one case, the duties of the building, electrical and plumbing inspector. Five villages have a combined clerk and assessor. Twelve cities and two villages have merged the offices of assessor and treasurer.

## County and Township

Edited by William N. Cassella, Jr.,  
and Victor Jones

## Joint Report Seeks City-county Merger

### Nashville, Davidson Co. Consider Consolidation

THE goal of a single metropolitan government to replace existing city and county governments in Davidson County and Nashville, Tennessee, was recommended in the recent joint report of their planning commissions.<sup>1</sup> The proposed *Plan of Metropolitan Government* sets a target date of September 1, 1958, for the consolidation of all governments in the metropolitan area, county as well as cities, into a single "municipal type" government. Although the report was substantially complete as early as March 1956, there followed a period of painstaking consideration and revision, culminating in its unanimous approval in October by the planning commissions of both Nashville and Davidson County, including the mayor and the county judge.

In essence the report recommends a modified form of city-county consolidation with an expandable "urban services district" to differentiate the two levels of services and taxes under the single government. This approach to providing unified government for the Nashville metropolitan community was in response to the staggering backlog of urban service needs of the 166,000 persons living in the urban fringe area outside Nashville.

This unserved area of 130 square miles has been populated during the past 30

years by the overflow of Nashville's confining city boundaries, which contain only 22.7 square miles and 178,000 persons. The total Davidson County population of 360,000 includes an additional 16,000 persons residing in the 380 square miles of rural territory.

Several factors helped to determine the kind of proposal recommended for Nashville and Davidson County:

1. No appreciable annexation to Nashville has taken place since 1929. The causes for this condition constitute another story but the result has been to make Nashville's metropolitan problem not so much the usual one of coordinating services provided by many diverse units of government. Rather it is the problem of catching up with urban service needs in a suspicious, independent-minded, politically powerful suburban area, while at the same time providing a framework for unified control of future urban growth.

The serious state of affairs in the suburbs is indicated by the fact that most of the 166,000 persons have no sanitary sewer system, having instead only septic tanks with extremely poor soil conditions. Private "subscription" fire protection and police protection, and the absence of street lighting, of public parks and recreation program, and of public garbage collection are also indicative of the extent of service needs.

2. Very few separate units of government have come into existence thus far in the Nashville metropolitan area. In addition to Nashville and Davidson County, seven "half-governments"—three small satellite cities and four utility districts—operate on a limited basis. The three suburban cities, Belle Meade, Berry Hill and Oak Hill, while totaling less than 10,000 in their combined popu-

<sup>1</sup> *Plan of Metropolitan Government for Nashville and Davidson County*, Nashville and Davidson County Planning Commissions, October 1956, 69 pages.



lation, are fairly large in terms of geographic area. Although Nashville has not yet gone the "way of all metropolitan flesh" with respect to a jungle of separate incorporations, there is every indication that the field will not remain clear much longer.

3. This study by the joint planning commissions was preceded by another metropolitan survey, conducted by the Community Services Commission in 1952. The recommendations of this body were for large-scale annexation and the transfer of four functions—health, hospitals, schools and welfare—to a county-wide basis. Although no annexation took place, the health and welfare functions were transferred to the county and a greater public awareness of the metropolitan community and its problems was undoubtedly stimulated. The Community Services Commission considered that city-county consolidation faced too many constitutional obstacles.

4. Two new legal developments since 1952, both the result of constitutional amendments, affected the kind of proposal made in the planning commissions' report. One of these was the elimination of annexation by the local bill method, which had been proposed in the 1952 report. Although the 1955 state legislature passed a liberal general annexation law permitting annexation by city council ordinance, subject to court review, it became rather clear that Nashville would not annex without a referendum. The other legal development was the passage of a constitutional amendment authorizing the state legislature to provide for city-county consolidation. The amendment was not all that might be desired, but it was considered to be adequate to open the door to a reasonably effective consolidation.

The report of the Nashville and Davidson County planning commissions was prepared under the supervision of the Advance Planning and Research Di-

vision which has a single staff employed jointly by the two commissions. Personnel from Vanderbilt University's Political Science Department worked with the staff on the study. The report presents its findings and recommendations in five sections: (1) What is our metropolitan problem? (2) What can we learn from other metropolitan areas? (3) What are the alternatives? (4) The plan of metropolitan government for Nashville and Davidson County, and (5) A plan of action.

### Objectives of Plan

The report states the following objectives of the Plan of Metropolitan Government: "(1) To extend urban services rapidly and economically to the entire metropolitan area, with receipt of new services and payment of new taxes being in reasonable time relationship with each other; (2) to provide a simplified governmental structure and form representing our whole metropolitan community, which will enable our public officials and citizens to fulfill their responsibilities more clearly and effectively; (3) to provide for a government with jurisdiction to prepare the way for areas of future urban growth, not merely to remedy the mistakes of past urban development; (4) to insure equitable and sound financing of all governmental services, with area-wide services being financed on an urban basis."

The proposal calls for a schedule of actions beginning with the passage of general enabling legislation by the state legislature early in 1957. Such legislation would have to be a general act—not a private act—authorizing the creation of a "Metropolitan Government Charter Commission" for Nashville and Davidson County, and permitting other metropolitan areas with a population of more than 100,000 to do likewise. Such a charter commission is recommended for creation by May 1957, with the charter for a single metropolitan government

consolidating city and county functions to be drafted by February 1, 1958. The recommended timetable sets May 1958 as the date for a referendum on adoption of the charter; August 1958 as the date for electing officers for the new government; and September 1, 1958, as the date for its going into effect.

#### **Expandable Service District**

Probably the unique feature of the proposal is the expandable urban services district, designed to permit a single government to possess jurisdiction over the whole metropolitan community and its areas of future growth, while at the same time addressing itself to the job of systematically extending municipal-type services to the suburbs which have already developed. The enabling act would authorize charter provision for certain services to be provided and financed on an area-wide—county-wide—basis, with other services to be provided and financed only on an urban basis. Both the "general services district," encompassing the whole area of the county, and the "urban services district" would be under the jurisdiction of the single government, as well as the periodic extension of the boundaries of the urban district.

The administrative structure of the consolidated government was only suggested in its broad outlines in the report, with the details for the most part being left to the proposed charter commission. Only court tests would ultimately determine the disposition of certain potential constitutional obstacles, but the report takes the position that it is possible to achieve a substantially complete consolidation and that a legal method of achieving two levels of taxation can be provided. Since the state constitution requires a majority vote in each city consolidating with a county, the legal effect of a negative vote in one or more of the three satellite cities cannot be stated with certainty. However,

the *Plan of Metropolitan Government* assumes that each city does not have a veto over the whole consolidation, but that a negative vote in one of the smaller cities would simply exclude it from the consolidation as well as from the urban services which the consolidated government would provide.

Nashville and Davidson County have taken the first step in the direction of unified metropolitan government by the joint preparation of this report. Succeeding steps, involving more definite political action, are obviously more difficult. Time plays a vital role in any calculation of the chances of adoption of the plan, because Nashville's favorable position with respect to the small number of satellite cities could be erased within a few years by separate incorporations. In the Nashville metropolitan area, as elsewhere, the disposition of such a report will be determined in the political sector of community life.

DANIEL R. GRANT

Vanderbilt University

## **Florida Approves Dade County Home Rule**

In a statewide vote Florida approved a constitutional amendment which permits Dade County (including the city of Miami) to adopt a home rule charter.<sup>1</sup> The amendment carried the state by 244,817 to 120,343 and received a better than two-to-one majority in Dade County (86,612 for and 34,337 against). A metropolitan charter board, already created by legislation, now has constitutional authority to draft a charter which will be submitted to the voters of Dade County for approval. The enabling amendment permits the basic reorganization of the county government and the assignment of area-wide municipal functions. (Continued on page 558)

<sup>1</sup> See the REVIEW, April 1955, page 206; July 1955, page 374.

## Voters Approve Record Bond Total

### Over \$2.3 Billion Added to Country's Debt Total

**A** RECORD total of state and local bond issues was approved at the general elections held November 6, as voters in nine states and approximately 400 counties, cities, school districts and other political subdivisions decided on bond issue proposals.

According to press reports, unofficial returns indicate that voters approved more than 90 per cent of the bond proposals before them, adding a total in excess of \$2.3 billion to state and local government borrowing potential. Meeting defeat were proposals totaling approximately \$200 million. Voters thus appeared to have returned to the spending mood which has found them approving about 85 per cent of all bond proposals since the end of World War II. The reversal of the trend came in November 1955, when about three-fourths of the proposals were rejected, but the new record approval of over \$2.3 billion was substantially over the previous high of approximately \$1.4 billion approved in November 1954.

Although bond issues come up at special elections throughout the year, November general elections usually account for about half the proposed total each year. Thus, in 1956 through October 31, a total in excess of \$1.9 billion had already been approved; and November approvals will increase total authorizations for the year to over \$4.2 billion. This willingness of the voters to authorize new borrowing is to be compared with full year total approvals of \$2.9 billion in 1955, \$2.8 billion in 1954 and \$1.9 billion in 1953.

Two states accounted for well over half the November 1956 approvals, with New York and California between them passing \$1.3 billion in new state bond authorizations. California voters approved \$500 million for aid to veterans and \$300 million for schools and construction of state institutions. In addition California voters on local issues went along with the national trend by approving over 85 per cent of the \$290 million on local ballots. New York State voters approved a \$500 million authorization for the issuance of highway bonds.

Veterans' aid and highway improvement accounted for approximately two-thirds of the total. A favorite form of state borrowing, bonds issued to finance veterans' aid, ran very strong and appeared to meet little opposition. In addition to the California approval of \$500 million, Texas voters approved a \$100 million issue, Ohio \$90 million and Iowa, West Virginia, Louisiana and Rhode Island approved veterans' issues aggregating \$76.5 million.

Highway and street improvements also came in for strong endorsement as issues in excess of \$670 million were approved. In addition to New York State's \$500 million issue, Kentucky voters approved a highway issue of \$100 million, Jefferson County, Texas, \$10.4 million and Youngstown, Ohio, an expressway issue aggregating \$8.8 million. In view of the huge requirements of the new federal-aid highway program, highway borrowing will probably increase in the future.

Big cities and counties also fared well at the polls, as voters faced up to future needs for schools, water supply, sanitation facilities and other municipal improvements. Eleven of these jurisdictions accounted for approximately one-fifth of the total amounts approved November 6. Baltimore voters led the way, approving nearly \$94.9 million for various municipi-

pal improvements. Other large city and county approvals reported include: San Francisco, \$52.0 million for schools and airport facilities; Philadelphia, \$46.9 million for various purposes; Wichita, Kansas, \$40.2 million water revenue bonds; Cincinnati, \$35.1 million for various purposes; Los Angeles County, \$30.8 million for various purposes; San Diego, \$27.0 million for schools; King County, Washington, \$25.0 million for schools; and Marin County, California, \$20.6 million for water facilities.

Proposed bond issues which met defeat were for varied purposes, the largest single defeated proposal being the proposed \$100 million New York State issue for financing low interest loans to builders of middle-income housing facilities. Other defeated proposals included the following: Rockford, Illinois, \$8.9 million for flood control; San Diego, \$8.5 million for a convention auditorium; San Jose, California, \$7.1 million for schools; and San Joaquin County, California, \$6.0 million for a courthouse.

Smaller issues for public buildings were defeated by the voters of Ada County, Idaho, Black Hawk County, Iowa, and Franklin County, Ohio, while Jacksonville Beach, Florida, voters turned thumbs down on a \$1.2 million proposed issue for the construction of recreational facilities. In Trumbull County, Kentucky, adamant voters for the third consecutive year turned down a bond issue to finance construction of a new county jail.

Action by New York State voters on the proposed housing issue indicates some of the forces at work in the defeat of proposals of this kind. While New York City voters approved the proposal, those outside the city turned it down in the ratio of about nine against to five in favor, with the result that statewide the proposal was defeated. Two factors worked against the proposal outside New York City. One was the feeling that New York City is the principal beneficiary of public housing programs and that

communities that did not need the aid were helping to pay for it in one way or another, although in this case it should be noted that the intent of the proposal was to divide the loans equally between the city and the rest of the state.

The other factor working against the proposal was the opposition led by taxpayer economy groups who asserted that tax exemptions granted to the housing projects would lead to increased taxes for other residents of the state. According to the most recent press reports, New York City may proceed independently with its own middle-income housing loan program under the state's Mitchell-Lama act. Approximately \$75 million are said to be available in city funds for this purpose, but the tax exempt feature would not be a part of this program.

#### Sales Later

Actual sales of the obligations authorized at the November elections will take place much later, of course, generally at the discretion of state and local fiscal officials. In this connection it is of interest to note that San Francisco, for example, already has power to borrow over \$118.4 million excluding November approvals; these authorizations exist from elections extending as far back as 1947. Similarly, New York State has \$959.2 million authorizations remaining from previous elections for purposes including highways, state housing, grade crossing elimination and mental health buildings. In addition there are still unissued \$62.1 million of a \$400 million New York State authorization to pay World War II veterans' bonuses. The state comptroller has indicated that these veterans' bonus bonds will probably never be issued.

The record total of bond proposals approved in November looks quite formidable when placed against the present background of the tight money market. *The Daily Bond Buyer's* index hit a high of 3.10 per cent on November 9, 1956; and

this situation, which has existed over recent months, has reduced the volume of long term state and municipal bond sales. Consequently, many projects have been shifted into the short term money market and as a result a considerable backlog is accumulating. Some experts feel that if the tight money market continues to prevail through this year, the demand which exists now may well flood the market next year. The record-breaking amount of new authorizations simply adds to the backlog, and many worthwhile projects will either have to wait for an improvement in market conditions or serve further to bid up the high cost of money.

### ***Tax Institute Symposium Discusses Highway Finance***

The Tax Institute Symposium on "Financing Highways" was held in Princeton, New Jersey, November 8-9. Four sessions of the well planned program covered topics including the role of an adequate highway system in the national economy, the impact of the new federal highway program on state and local governments, the role of highway-user revenues in financing the highway program, and specific problems connected with motor vehicle taxation. Fifteen speakers presented as many papers and students of public finance and others interested in this complex subject will find valuable contributions among these papers when they are published eventually. Particularly well treated were certain aspects of urban and municipal highway finance.

A provocative theory of the economics of urban highway financing was presented by Lyle C. Fitch, director of fiscal and economic research for the Division of Administration, New York City. Speaking in an unofficial capacity, Dr. Fitch presented the economic case for the use of pricing as a means of equating the supply of and the demand for street space.

Parking meters, of course, constitute a limited application of this concept to the storage of vehicles; but Dr. Fitch's proposal would extend the application of pricing to vehicles in motion.

At present the devices used to control the demand for street space are congestion, collision and competition for parking space; and congestion is not unlike the queue lines which often exist under rationing systems. Dr. Fitch suggested that pricing might be the more efficient way to control demand and, in addition, would relate itself to municipal revenue needs, particularly those for traffic control and street construction, maintenance and repair. The suggested pricing system would involve levying charges for the use of municipal streets, its primary purpose being to limit demand. Variations in such pricing might include scaling the charges to time of use and by type of vehicle. Thus, high to prohibitively high prices might be charged to passenger cars entering the downtown area before 10 A.M. (to discourage automobile commuters and to encourage use of the rapid transit system) and to trucks entering the area after 10 A.M. (to discourage midday loading and unloading). Low prices or free entrance might be afforded passenger cars during the midday period (to encourage shoppers) and to trucks in the early morning hours (to encourage early loading and unloading). A further variation in the price scale would account for the amount of street space actually occupied by the vehicle.

The mechanics of such a pricing system were illustrated by the relatively simple situation of Manhattan Island. Entrance charges could be collected at toll booths located near the bridges and tunnels, over or through which it is necessary to pass to enter the area. It was suggested that application in other downtown areas would perhaps be simplified by the limited access highway networks contemplated under the new federal highway program. Charges could be imposed in these situ-

ations at toll booths located near the points of egress from the arterial feeder, i.e., at points of entrance into the downtown street network. At present, these arterial highways offer the promise of taking through traffic off the city streets, but they also offer the promise of furnishing additional traffic for streets which are already congested. The pricing system would establish a means of control.

This summary of Dr. Fitch's presentation cannot trace all the details of his reasoning, nor does it indicate that he presented his plan in the blueprint stage, ready for adoption; but thoughtful observers will find stimulative ideas in this paper when it becomes available. And anyone suffering through the chaos of today's urban traffic anarchy will not idly dismiss any idea, however novel or unique.

#### Road Blocks

At the same meeting Frederick L. Bird, director of municipal research for Dun & Bradstreet, Inc., and president of the Tax Institute, outlined ways to overcome the financial road blocks standing before successful completion of the highway program. He emphasized at the outset that the highway program represents only a small part of local capital needs and that the highway program must not be allowed to create an imbalance in capital expenditures detrimental to education, sanitation, water supply and other needs. To achieve balance in capital construction programs, and to bring about their successful completion, states and localities will have to make several important financial adjustments. Constitutional and other self-imposed limitations on public spending and borrowing must be re-examined and, in many cases, substantially modified, if funds are to be made available. Adequate budget systems must be adopted with a view to long-term spending, as well as to current expenditures. States and localities must forego the use of restrictive fiscal devices, such as earmarking certain rev-

enues for specific purposes, if financial resources are to be made flexibly available to meet the needs of the different programs. Finally, Dr. Bird stressed that many states will have to take forthright steps to remove constitutional barriers to spending instead of seeking ingenious ways to circumvent them.

#### Use of Independent Authorities Attacked

Recent news reports reflect what may be a new age of suspicion of the indiscriminate use of independent public authorities. For several years authorities and independent special districts have been advocated as solutions to specific state and local fiscal problems, and their use has grown rapidly in some sections of the country. Now, apparently, there are signs that a re-examination of further use of this device would be desirable.

At the 62nd annual convention of the American Public Works Association held in Fort Worth recently, Dennis O'Harrow, executive director of the American Society of Planning Officials, led one of the strongest attacks on the independent authority device made in recent years. He stated that in establishing authorities for the performance of governmental functions, we exchange one set of "intelligent politicians" who are sensitive to the public's wishes for a group of "inept politicians" who are not. From his general attack he excluded those special districts and authorities established to cut across political boundaries, holding that only these might be justified.

Among the dangers in the further use of independent authorities foreseen by Mr. O'Harrow were the increasing multiplicity of governmental units designed to escape financial debt limits, the use of special units to undertake projects of doubtful governmental jurisdiction, such as building for industry, and the avoid-



ance of imaginary political messes by removing direct responsibility for control from the hands of elected political officials. As preferable alternatives, Mr. O'Harrow suggested that debt laws be revised and other ways of attracting industry be sought. One of the greatest dangers presented by independent authorities and districts is that the more single-purpose governmental units created, the more obstacles to orderly municipal planning and growth.

Support to Mr. O'Harrow's views were in effect given by Edward E. Reid, executive director of the Alabama League of Municipalities. Mr. Reid demonstrated how Alabama cities have avoided the formation of special districts by the use of liberal extra-territorial controls granted by the state legislature. Some of the powers granted to Alabama cities in financing public works, according to Mr. Reid, are the power to construct street and sewer improvements within three miles of the corporate limits and to assess property owners for their construction, the power to extend gas, electric and water systems for an unlimited distance, and the authority to enforce subdivision, planning and zoning regulations up to five miles outside their corporate limits.

In another development along these lines, the independent authority device is under a cloud in Pennsylvania, one of the states first to authorize extensive use of such independent jurisdictions. Alleged abuses by many such groups have led the state's attorney general to say that "the correction of this situation should be one of the first problems tackled by the next legislature." His office is reported to have begun a study of the financial operations of the 977 municipal authorities of the state and the aim of the administration at this time appears to be to eliminate those considered unnecessary or to bring under control the highly independent status which the authorities are said to enjoy at the present time.

The outcome of these maneuvers is uncertain, of course, but they reflect at least a much-needed examination of this particular solution to local government fiscal problems.

None of these developments is new, of course, and nearly twenty years ago all these suspicions were aired and in some cases stated more sharply even than today. For example, the *Report of the Joint Legislative Committee on New York State Fiscal Policies*<sup>1</sup> stated in 1937 that "should the recent trend [of creating new authorities] continue, we may some day find our cities broken up into numerous governmental agencies, and all activities of such governments capable of being financed on a self-supporting basis divorced from the responsible administration of the city and not responsive to the wishes of the people or the administration which they elect."

### **1957 Census of Governments Now Under Way**

The Bureau of the Census, United States Department of Commerce, now has under way a nation-wide inventory of local governments, their finances and employment. The new Census of Governments will be the first such comprehensive survey to be made since 1942. An initial appropriation of \$1,750,000 recently made by Congress is expected to cover most of the cost of the project, estimated to take more than two years to complete.

For a few kinds of public services, such as schools, highways and public assistance, some important data are assembled by the federal agencies primarily concerned with these particular functions. For more than a century, however, the Bureau of the Census has collected statistics comprising the entire range of state and local government services and financing.

<sup>1</sup> State of New York, Legislative Document, 1938, No. 41.

From 1850 to 1900 information on public finances was collected in conjunction with the Decennial Census of Population. From 1902 to 1942, the periodic Census of Governments was taken separately at ten-year intervals. In 1952, however, the Census was omitted because Congress, in a penny-wise-pound-foolish vein, did not appropriate funds for it.

Because of the considerable variety in pattern of local governmental units, and because of the differences in distribution of responsibility for financing and administering particular public functions at state and local governmental levels, there is difficulty in establishing close comparability for some particular kinds of statistics. The obvious way to deal with such problems is to bring together, in terms of a common reporting framework, figures for all the governments which serve and draw their support from particular areas. This is a major objective of the Census of Governments. As planned for 1957, the census will supply not only national totals but state-by-state figures as to the revenue, expenditure, indebtedness and assets of state and local governments, as well as related local government totals on a county-by-county basis.

#### **Many Units Covered**

The extended coverage of the 1957 Census of Governments will also make available comparative figures for a considerably larger number and variety of local governments than are individually reported on an annual basis by the Bureau of the Census. In addition to the states and municipalities of over 25,000, all county governments, municipalities down to a population of 2,500, and townships, school districts and special districts of comparable size will be covered. The 1957 census will also develop and report data on property tax valuations, for which no nation-wide current statistics are available.

## **COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP**

(Continued from page 552)

tions to the county as an instrumentality of metropolitan government.

### ***Home Rule Charter Approved in Baltimore County***

Baltimore County voters in the November election approved a home rule charter which replaces the commission form of government with a seven-member county council and an elected county executive.<sup>1</sup> The charter was adopted by a vote of 71,282 to 43,955. The council will be elected at a special election in January. It is provided in the charter that the incumbent president of the board of county commissioners will serve as the county executive until after the 1958 election.

The charter received the unanimous endorsement of the present county commissioners. Both major political parties gave it their official endorsement.

Montgomery is the only other Maryland county operating under a home rule charter. Significantly both Baltimore and Montgomery Counties are heavily populated suburban areas, the former adjacent to the city of Baltimore and the latter to Washington, D. C.

### ***North Carolina Counties May Have Medical Examiners***

Medical examiners are coming into existence in North Carolina under optional legislation of 1955. Each of the hundred counties is empowered to proceed by resolution of its governing board to come under the act, whereupon a central statewide committee on post-mortem examinations in the State Board of Health will select a qualified medical examiner whom the coroner must consult on the medico-legal aspects of each case. Three counties—Union, Polk and Cumberland—have initiated the system.

R.S.C.

<sup>1</sup> See the REVIEW, June 1955, page 315.

**Proportional Representation***Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.,  
and Wm. Redin Woodward**(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)*

## Olean, N. Y., Will Try Again

### P. R.-Manager Charter Loses by Two to One

**O**LEAN, NEW YORK, by a vote of 5,443 to 2,710 on November 6 defeated a proposed charter which would have given the city the council-manager plan of government with proportional representation for the election of the council.

Back in 1955 the idea of a council-manager government in Olean was only a spark, but it caught fire in the minds of a few citizens. They agreed to get together a little group of men and see what they thought about it. The group met July 5, 1955. It originally comprised a committee of thirteen—an even balance of business, labor, professional and industrial management people.

These men knew little or nothing about the council-manager plan. About all they had to go on was their impression of cities which they had travelled through. The cities looked progressive and on their toes and a lot of them seemed to have city managers. The thirteen men agreed they would like to see what could be done with the proposal and formed a committee.

Four subcommittees were set up: finance, planning, charter, and political action and information. The committee met about every two weeks. More members were added until it totaled about 60 persons.

On September 13, 1955, four members went to Rome, New York, to find out how that city had adopted its council-manager plan. Officials of Rome recommended that the Olean group secure the

services of George H. Hallett, Jr., executive secretary of the Citizens Union, New York City, and editor of this department.

Mr. Hallett was invited by the Olean Council-manager Committee, as it called itself, to look at the city's present charter. He did so. As a result of a meeting with him, the local committee decided to work for both the council-manager plan and proportional representation as the "best of all municipal systems." The committee felt that the P.R. voting method would provide fairer representation in the city government to all Olean citizens. It thought this system was the best because it meant that any group of like-minded citizens would be represented in direct proportion to its numerical strength. It requested Mr. Hallett to prepare a charter on these lines.

The work of writing the new charter was completed in May 1956. In June it was submitted to the common council without a petition. Members of the council muttered something about a special election—then turned down the resolution proposing that this charter be submitted to the voters at the November 6 general election by a vote of seven to three. One councilman was absent at the time. The mayor read a prepared speech at the council meeting, which was broadcast, condemning the plan—thereby showing early where the leadership of the opposition would be.

The committee went to work immediately on getting petitions signed. Over 1,600 signatures were obtained, representing 20 per cent of the registered voters. In July 1956, faced with these petitions, the council voted unanimously to put this charter up for referendum at the November 6 general election. Even so a

(Continued on page 567)

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Citizen Action . . . . . Edited by Elsie S. Parker

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## Chicago City Club Seeks Short Ballot

### Asks Study on Reducing State Elective Officials

THE Government Committee of the Chicago City Club has adopted, and the club's Board of Governors has approved, a recommendation that the Illinois legislature create a special commission to look into the possibility of reducing the number of state elective offices. The statement and recommendation follow:

"The revelation of financial irregularities and looting in the office of the state auditor of public accounts calls sharp attention not only to the need for an effective accounting system for all state elective officers but also to the disorganized, hydra-headed system of state government in Illinois. This comes from the election of a number of state officials and their practical independence of the head of the government of Illinois—the governor—who is charged with the duty of seeing that the laws are faithfully executed but from whom a large part of the state administration is independent and over which the governor is only the nominal executive.

"The Illinois constitution requires the election of the following members of the state government: governor, lieutenant governor, secretary of state, attorney general, auditor of public accounts, superintendent of public instruction, treasurer and clerk of the Supreme Court. The constitutional status of the administrative officials, other than the governor and lieutenant governor, leaves each department quite free to pursue its own administrative course.

"The evils of a hydra-headed govern-

ment have been found in many states and, as the problems have become apparent to the people, moves have been made to centralize administrative responsibility in the governor. New York, for example, now elects only the governor, lieutenant governor, comptroller and attorney general, and thus responsibility for practically all administration is placed in the governor.

"It is obvious that basic reforms are needed in the administration of the Illinois state government but the nature of such reforms and the methods of bringing them about need careful exploration.

"The City Club of Chicago therefore recommends to the General Assembly that a special commission be created with adequate powers and appropriations to make a thorough study of ways and means by which the elective offices of the government of Illinois may be substantially reduced in number and so integrated as to provide for the effective execution and administration of all state laws, such commission to make its report before March 1, 1959."

## Fair Campaign Practices Committee at Work

Founded in 1954 by Anna Lord Strauss, former president of the League of Women Voters of the U. S., Gardner Cowles, editor of *Look* magazine, and the late Justice Owen J. Roberts, the Fair Campaign Practices Committee is "dedicated to elevating the ethical standards of political campaigns."

It distributes a *Code of Fair Campaign Practices* which, reports Bruce L. Felkner, executive director of the committee, "in essence was created by the Senate Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections in 1951 after its investigation of the Maryland senatorial contest of the

preceding year." The code is circulated as widely as possible among the general public, through press and other news media and through church and civic groups. Candidates for office are asked to sign the code and to pledge to conduct their campaigns in accordance with it. Thus far only candidates for national office have been dealt with but the committee expects to extend its efforts to state and local elections as soon as practicable.

Projects under consideration include encouragement of the formation of local or statewide citizens' panels to arbitrate disputes over campaign practices, development of a single central source of information on campaign practices, studies of campaign techniques in the past and in other countries.

Charles P. Taft, mayor of Cincinnati, is chairman of the committee.

### ***Citizens League 'Tools Up' for 1956-57***

The Citizens League of Minneapolis and Hennepin County reports in its October 12 *News Bulletin* that principal goals for 1956-57 are:

"Carry through an eleven-point program in the 1957 legislature,

"Adopt a program for charter revision and review,

"Increase coordination of metropolitan services,

"Carry through ten operational changes for efficiency,

"Add 1,000 new members, 75 new contributors and get 1,000 members active."

During its recent membership campaign, the league posted the photographs of the 200 members aiding in the drive. IMCLRU—standing for "I am a Citizens Leaguer, are you?"—was the slogan for this year. Volunteers wore bright red lapel tabs with these letters inscribed in gold. Alan W. Giles is vice president in charge of membership.

Special fall meetings included: (1)

### ***He Likes City Manager's Report***

A progress report published by Bert W. Johnson, city manager of Evanston, Illinois, and distributed to 24,000 householders, has brought commendation and appreciation from some of its citizens. W. H. Cameron writes, in part, to Mr. Johnson:

"I cannot deny myself the pleasure of acknowledging your two-year report of the many activities and accomplishments of our city government under your management. I have read every word of the report and it was all interesting. Much of the information was new to me. . . . Congratulations on accomplishing so much. Of course, we are all interested in the planning and complicated problems you have to deal with, but I imagine the bulk of our citizens are interested more in the so-called housekeeping services that mean so much to our comfortable living. For example, I appreciate very much the garbage pickups, the night cleaning of our street pavements, the recreational and park services, the school facilities, the police and fire services and so on and so on."

an orientation meeting to give new members an inside picture of the league's operation and to introduce them to the activities of standing committees; (2) a School in Local Government. The latter consisted of four lectures and discussions, open to the public, held during October and November. Subjects were Local Government: Minneapolis Style, Hennepin County Style and Suburban Style, and Better Integration and Cooperation. Speakers were Raymond D.

Black, executive director of the league, and Albert J. Richter, its research director.

## 'The Voice of the Turtle'

**EDITOR'S NOTE.**—The message below is taken from the October 25 edition of *Shop Talk*, bulletin of the National Association of Civic Secretaries.

As we have progressed turtlelike through a 34-year career as a civic secretary, definite impressions of the high mission of this profession have grown in us. So, as retiring president of the National Association of Civic Secretaries, we take the liberty of giving our views to our trapped audience.

Each of the 16,000 large and small municipalities in this country should have an association of its citizens who give as close attention to public matters as their chambers of commerce do to mercantile and industrial affairs. The motive power of these groups should come from their citizen committees. This is a reappearance on a nation-wide basis of the old New England town meeting and represents direct participation of citizens in their government.

In the larger associations or leagues, it is necessary to have a secretary to act as a quarterback or pilot. To do his job effectively, he must have the know-how along certain specific lines, which, unfortunately, is not now available in any college. He should know how to give his committees the effectiveness of a Paul Bunyan, to keep them provided with meaty projects and to prod them into completing them . . . how to assemble data on public problems which can move civic mountains . . . how to diagnose his community's anatomy so that he knows what is wrong and what is right and proceeds to do something about it . . . how to attract new members and retain old ones . . . how to raise money for his organization but not get

so much involved in this activity that he cannot do anything else . . . how to transmit his enthusiasm to his committees and officers to the end that the organization may become a militant, alert, constructive and potent force in the community, for good government and for the preservation of democracy.

This is a fine profession and deserves the community stature of the medical, legal and other professions because it is so closely allied with an activity that can keep self-government and democracy alive and healthy in any community.

C. A. CROSSER, *Executive Secretary*  
Municipal League of Seattle  
and King County

## Crab Grass, Town Government and Voting

**EDITOR'S NOTE.**—The article below appeared in the *Putnam County* (New York) *Press* for October 25, 1956.

A green lush lawn of permanent grasses free from weeds is not difficult to grow although popular errors make it seem so. One is foolish to complain about crab grass, fight it endlessly and get nowhere, when the solution is so simple.

And so it is with good town government. Many people who recognize a need for constructive action spend a great deal of time and effort in the wrong direction trying to help. There are only a few chores they need do right and the town would be free from wasteful and expensive "weeds."

Many residents of towns like Carmel are intensely dissatisfied with inefficiency in public office. They are unhappy about the caliber of people selected by political committees to run for election. Often the voter has the doubtful privilege of only choosing between two incompetent hand-picked, bossed candidates. Correcting these abuses and encouraging good government is as basically simple as the proper mowing, timely fertilizing



and correct watering formula for killing crab grass and establishing a splendid lawn.

The major step in the right direction is to vote in the town where you own property and where your main interests lie. Voting in a small town is especially rewarding because one vote has so much weight and importance. In large cities, even a hundred votes are lost among the millions; in small towns forty or fifty ballots often swing an election.

You are probably registered in Carmel, as once on the rolls your name remains four years. Check with any officer of the civic association or at Town Hall. You may not vote in two places but the Supreme Court has just upheld your right to vote even from a part time residence. So, if you live in Carmel the year round, on November 6 hustle over to the polls and vote. If you are a summer resident, be sure to drive up with the family and neighbors and cast those valuable ballots on election day. When you vote, the political machine respects and fears you; when you rave and rant and complain you waste time and accomplish nothing.

There is little use in convincing neighbors who are already convinced that there are waste, inefficiency and inequalities in town. There is little use arguing with bossed officeholders or politicians. You may as well argue with crab grass.

For good lawns: fertilize heavily in the fall, almost never in the spring, and absolutely never in warm weather. Set the mower low in the fall and very high in the summer. As for watering, never sprinkle, only soak, not often, and never near nightfall.

For good government: vote in Carmel and by the strength and weight of your ballot crowd out the weeds of waste!

CHESTER J. HENSCH, *President*  
Civic Association of the Mahopacs  
Carmel, New York

## Town Meetings

In its *Municipal News* for September 22, the Municipal League of Seattle and King County points out that the league "has revived the town meeting idea in Seattle. More than 500 town members of our eighteen committees hold 250 meetings a year with an attendance of more than 2,500 to discuss and pass on most important public transactions in our city and county.

"This is truly a revival of the town meeting idea which represented a healthy interest of citizens in their local public affairs and under whose scrutiny democracy will continue to flourish."

The season's first "little town meeting" of the Citizens' Plan "E" Association of Worcester, Massachusetts, was held in September. Speakers were Councillor Andrew B. Holmstrom and School Committeeman John J. Melican. City Manager Francis J. McGrath and other officials were on hand to explain plans and program particularly for the area which the meeting covered. The association has planned the little town meetings for various neighborhoods so that local citizens may meet and question their city officials.

## Allegheny County Telecasts

Monthly telecasts under the auspices of the Civic Club of Allegheny County (Pittsburgh) have been continued this fall. Two subjects recently discussed were land use and traffic and mass transit problems. Jim Westover, KQV announcer, is moderator.

## Strictly Personal

The Citizens Charter Committee of Hartford, Connecticut, has elected Dr. Kenneth F. Brandon, associate medical director of the Aetna Life Insurance Company, as chairman. Dr. Brandon succeeds John C. Parsons, who has held the chairmanship since 1953.

## Two State Tax Systems Compared

### Three Standards of Performance Applied

THE systems for property tax administration in two great states have been described and measured in Robert H. Pealy's *A Comparative Study of Property Tax Administration in Illinois and Michigan* (Bureau of Government, Institute of Public Administration, University of Michigan, 1956, 136 pages). In comparing the two systems, special attention is given to administrative policy, structure and procedure, while the technical aspects of property assessment are deemphasized.

Three standards of performance are applied to property tax systems in the two states: (1) legal equity for taxpayers, (2) same relative level of assessment in all assessing units, and (3) policy control by local electorates through legislative rather than administrative officials.

The first standard is not reached in either state because of too many primary assessment districts, lack of uniform assessment procedures, insufficient personnel and equipment. State level services to local tax administrators are greater in Illinois.

Although competitive under-assessment exists in both states, the author believes that Illinois meets the second standard slightly better than Michigan because of improved intercounty equalization.

No categorical statement can be made relative to the applicability of the third standard to the two systems. There is in practice some policy-making at the state administrative level and in both states, in accordance with a practice almost universal in the United States,

local level administrative officials (the assessors) wield a wide range of discretionary power.

### New York Area Study Developed

A three-year study of the economic and population forces influencing the development of the New Jersey-New York-Connecticut metropolitan region was begun this past summer by the Regional Plan Association.<sup>1</sup> As reported in the October 1956 *Regional Plan News*, the survey is seeking the following objectives: (1) To identify the key economic, demographic, sociological and governmental forces which over the past few decades have determined the composition and level of economic activities in the New York metropolitan region and the distribution of those activities among areas within the region; (2) to gain an understanding of the way in which these key forces have operated; (3) to forecast the economic and population aggregates over the next quarter century both for the region as a whole and for areas within the region; and (4) in the course of the forecast to identify the problems in which government policy choices may play a key role in shaping the development of the region.

Harold S. Osborne, president of the association, believes the findings will be widely useful. He commented:

"In planning their future needs for schools, highways and services, governmental agencies in the New Jersey-New York-Connecticut region need to have some fairly firm ideas of the future numbers, age distribution and income levels of the people they will serve, and they must have some conception of where these people will work and the transport facilities

<sup>1</sup> See also the REVIEW, September 1956, page 413.

ties they will use to get there. Business organizations, financial institutions and labor organizations as well as governmental agencies want to know about the future size and skills of the labor force, about wage rates, transportation and land use."

The project, financed by the Rockefeller Brothers Fund and the Ford Foundation through grants of \$240,000 from each, is being carried out by a special staff organized by the Graduate School of Public Administration of Harvard University. Raymond Vernon is directing the research staff. The work will be supplemented by the part-time services of the faculty at Cambridge.

## Governmental Researchers Hold Conference

Luther Gulick, president of the Institute of Public Administration, told those attending the annual conference of the Governmental Research Association that metropolitan problems now considered "crucial" are just "minor ripples on the tidal waves which are already sweeping toward us." He named as particularly troublesome the areas of traffic, mass transportation, housing, slums, schools and taxation.

He based the prediction on the anticipated growth of the nation's population, which he stated will reach 300,000,000 within 50 years. Some 80 to 90 per cent of the increased population will settle in and around the great cities.

The modern large American city is obsolete both in its government and in its facilities, Dr. Gulick said, and must be replanned for the oncoming millions. This task of looking ahead and rebuilding the metropolitan areas will require in each major area a "new community agenda," that is, a plan of action, organization and finance which will set out what is to be done, in what order and by whom. The speaker pressed the bureaus of municipal research and

similar local civic organizations to take the lead and to draw into this work all the groups and leaders of the area—cities and suburbs.

Other sessions during the October 15-17 conference at Rye, New York, involved discussions on urban renewal, metropolitan water supplies, mass transportation, effective use of research data, public relations, state and local economic development and public health.

Officers of the association for the next year include: president, Leslie J. Reese, who is vice president and director, Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division; vice president, Richard A. Atkins, director, Syracuse Governmental Research Bureau; secretary, Elsie V. Haas; treasurer, John M. Leavens, executive director, Citizens Budget Commission, New York City. Trustees are Ewen C. Dingwall, executive director, Washington State Research Council; John H. Mahoney, executive director, Worcester Taxpayers Association; Robert J. M. Matteson, executive director, American Society for Public Administration; James W. McGrew, director of research, Texas Research League; and Val C. Mogensen, executive director, Bureau of Governmental Research, New Orleans.

## Aid to Connecticut Charter Drafters

*A Guide to Charter Drafting*, (Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, Hartford, 1956 revised edition, 153 pages) offers to charter commissions in the Constitution State the primary alternatives of council-manager and strong mayor plans of local government.

The body of this loose leaf document suggests structure, organization and powers for the legislative, judicial and administrative agencies for a new government, and provisions by which to make the transition from the old. For use by those communities not content to adopt the major proposals, or those proposals alone, appendices offer legal

language for town meeting and representative town meeting government, for partisan election procedures, direct legislation and the recall. The document is not available for national distribution.

### **Kestnbaum Commission Recommendations Catalogued**

The 200-plus individual suggestions found in the Kestnbaum report constitute the heart of *Recommendations and Major Statements of the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations* (Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1956, 59 pages). At the request of the Intergovernmental Relations Subcommittee of the House Committee on Governmental Operations, the Bureau of the Budget has in this print pulled out and arranged in functional fields each of the commission's recommendations and major statements. After each follows the method by which the proposal may be implemented and the name of the federal agency, if any, responsible for the administration of the recommendation.

The Introduction expresses the expectation that the analysis will be useful to the subcommittee in its study of the commission's report, and will help increase public awareness of the commission's work.

### **Guide to Texas State Agencies Published**

A joint product of the Texas Legislative Council and the Institute of Public Affairs of the University of Texas, *Guide to Texas State Agencies* (Austin, 1956, 273 pages, \$1.50) is in many respects a state approximation of the *United States Government Organization Manual*.

The organizational pattern is described in the Foreword: "Administrative agencies are classified on a functional basis and are presented in the first thirteen sections, section fourteen contains the courts and its permanent agencies, and

section fifteen is devoted to the legislature and its permanent agencies. For each agency the name and address of the present . . . [head] is shown. This is followed by a uniform series of headings in which the basic information concerning each agency is presented."

### **New Headquarters, Staff for ASPA**

Enlarging its staff, the American Society for Public Administration has recently moved into a new building and a broadened program of services to its members, under an expanded program supported by a five-year Ford Foundation grant.

In working toward its goal of improving public administration through exchange of ideas, education and research, regular regional as well as local and national conferences are planned, the first of which was held in New York City, October 19 and 20.

New members of the society's professional and administrative staff, not previously reported,<sup>1</sup> include Assistant Director Don L. Bowen, formerly director of the Bureau of Governmental Research, University of Maryland; Staff Officer William B. Shore, formerly supervisor of public administration projects, University of Wyoming; and Staff Secretary Eleanor Rosenthal, formerly research associate of the New Jersey Taxpayers' Association.

The new headquarters building is at 6042 South Kimbark Avenue, Chicago 37.

### **University Institutes Held**

Appropriate to Florida's explosive population growth, the General Extension Division of the University of Florida, in cooperation with the Law College and bar groups, sponsored an institute on subdivision development on October 19-20. More than 300 leaders

<sup>1</sup> See the REVIEW, April 1956, page 202; October, page 422.

of business, government, the professions and civic organizations discussed a wide range of problems on housing the expanding population. The lack of state enabling legislation which would allow effective local control of urban growth was especially noted.

In Rhode Island the State University devoted the Ninth Annual Institute on Problems of Government, October 25, to the place of the executive at all political levels. The strong mayor and the manager alternatives at the local level were discussed by incumbents Mayor Kevin Coleman of Woonsocket and City Manager Irving Beck of Newport.

### PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

(Continued from page 559)

second petition, representing an additional 10 per cent of the registered voters, was submitted later.

Never had there been such publicity in the city's one newspaper, the *Times Herald*, on a program of this kind. Its efforts included a series of editorials on what the council-manager plan and P.R. would mean for Olean and the inadequacy of the present system; letters to the editor galore expressing both viewpoints; complete reports on panels, speeches and debates, covering both sides; publishing in full the National Municipal League's pamphlet, *Story of the Council-manager Plan*; a series of articles by Richard S. Childs; letters written by about 40 people (mostly newspaper editors) who live in council-manager communities, explaining how the plan worked in their cities—all were favorable (100 letters were written to editors and 75 favorable replies were received); testimonials from citizens of other cities; testimonials from Olean citizens, including two former mayors; over 1,100 inches of advertising.

The committee conducted an all out public speaking program covering parent-

teacher associations, service organizations and unions—so did Mayor Ivers J. Norton, leader of the opposition. There were three public debates with the opposition.

The vote in our largest ward was influenced considerably by a Catholic priest (not of Olean's largest parish), who wrote a long series of condemning articles in the church's Sunday news letter—this more than offset the fact that CIO-AFL leaders were endorsing the council-manager plan.

Why were we licked?

1. It is not easy to change over a community used to one form of government for over 50 years, particularly when the administrations have always been honest. Corruption could not be cited—just lack of centralization, of continuity of planning and general lack of growth and progressiveness. Our weak mayor system could definitely be blamed for this lack. The opposition admitted that a strong mayor system would be better, and this seems to be in the wind now.

2. Proportional representation was hard to teach and sell. The opponents hopped hard on how bad it would be to lose the ward system and the two-party political system at the municipal level. At the same time P.R. was not the main issue in the campaign.

3. The biggest reason for our losing was that we lacked ward organization to ring doorbells, etc. Our opponents were strong here.

This is just the beginning. We consider this "educational phase I." If with an adequate ward organization we can convince 1,500 more voters that the proposed charter is right for Olean, we can put it over. The charter has been shelved temporarily, but we won't give up. We'll be back at it again.

GREY FITZPATRICK, General Manager  
Olean (N.Y.) *Times Herald*

# Books in Review

## **Police, Fire Integration**

A FRONTIER OF MUNICIPAL SAFETY. By Charles S. James. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1955. xviii, 169 pp. \$4.00.

Faced with rising costs and increasing demands for new and expanded municipal services, many administrators have had the unhappy task of choosing between poorer services or higher taxes. One suggestion for meeting this crisis is integration of police and fire services, which is the subject of *A Frontier of Municipal Safety*. This book follows an earlier study by the same author, *Police and Fire Integration in the Small City*, also published in 1955. Both studies, financed largely by foundations, are part of a research project carried on by Public Administration Service.

Part I of *A Frontier of Municipal Safety* is devoted to a descriptive analysis of public safety as a function of municipal government. It undertakes to examine the hazards that create the need for public safety service and to indicate those for which cities assume responsibility. Traditional ways for meeting these demands are reviewed but in a pattern which develops the author's thesis of unity that "numerous parts of the total public safety mission . . . are fundamentally the same, whether they appear today in fire departments, police departments or elsewhere."

Part II is an application of the author's conclusions concerning the practicalities of integrating police and fire services, with typical examples. Questions of organization, relation and assignment of functions, and distribution of personnel are considered within the limits of the selected situations. A final chapter is devoted to the best ways of dealing with the problems that must be faced in the installation of integrated departments.

This volume is pointed specifically to

cities of intermediate size, from 10,000 to 500,000 in population, and excludes the larger cities and the small cities, the latter being the subject of the earlier study.

While the author readily acknowledges the limitations of the applicability of his proposed scheme and the problems that will be encountered in many places, his thesis is one that has generally met with great controversy whenever debated by public officials, specialists in the field or students of police and fire administration. Opposition has been strong for a variety of reasons—some valid while others grow out of prejudice and emotion. Unfortunately, examples of integration in practice are too limited to warrant sound conclusions based on experience.

However, these well considered studies focus attention on two services which loom large in the municipal budget. All public officials and students of administration, regardless of their personal views, should find such research useful and thought-provoking.

ROBERT H. KIRKWOOD

Institute of Public Administration

## **Political Science**

POLITICAL SCIENCE IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. By Dwight Waldo. Paris, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 1956. 84 pp. \$1.00. (Apply Columbia University Press, New York 27.)

Written at the request of and published by UNESCO, this is one of three trend reports on the American social sciences and one of its larger series "Documentation in the Social Sciences." Even though this review of the state of political science in the United States is addressed primarily to readers outside this country, the student here looking for a moderate summary description can do no better than to read this report.

The document strategically begins



with the environment in which the discipline was conceived and has developed. Coming in for analysis are general trends and the self-questioning going on among political scientists concerning their methods, their objectives and their place in the social sciences.

Statements follow on specialized "fields": political theory; international relations; foreign and comparative government; area studies; public administration, public opinion and voting behavior; politics, parties and pressure groups; public law and jurisprudence; and state and local government.

The author observes that the latter field has undergone a sharp decline in interest among political scientists, if measured by the space allocated it in the profession's journals. At least until the first World War, significant attention was given to the study of state and local institutions. This trend was reversed by the "federalizing" of many problems in times of economic depression and war, and the attraction of power and interest to the national, and even to the international, level.

While noting that the field of state and local government has "tended to become stagnant" in terms of new ideas, research methods and intellectual growth, Professor Waldo sees signs of a revitalization of the area as a field of political science. Supporting this view he cites the "official" emphasis on state and local government by the Republican national administration, reports of "wholesale shifts of student interest and new research projects," "strongly behaviouralist" studies in comparative state politics and advances in research designs in cognate disciplines such as city planning. One might add to this list the magnitude and urgency of problems of the metropolitan areas. Looking into the future the author concludes, "What appears as a wave may prove in the event a mere ripple. But at the present the dimensions seem . . . those of a wave." T. S.

## Additional Books and Pamphlets

### *Accounting*

A MECHANIZED ONE-WRITING PROCEDURE FOR ALL MUNICIPAL DISBURSEMENTS. Chicago, Office of the City Comptroller, 1956. Variousy paged. Charts.

### *Administrative Law*

A TREATISE ON ADMINISTRATIVE LAW. By Morris D. Forkosh. Indianapolis 7, Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1956. xiv, 856 pp. \$17.50, student edition \$12.

### *Corrupt Practices*

MONEY AND POLITICS. By Alexander Heard. New York 16, Public Affairs Committee, 1956. 28 pp. 25 cents. (Discounts on quantity orders.)

### *Education*

CHEATING OUR CHILDREN. Report on the Organization of Oklahoma High School Districts. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Public Expenditure Council, 1956. 16 pp.

### *Elections and Voting*

ESTIMATES OF THE CIVILIAN POPULATION OF VOTING AGE FOR STATES, NOVEMBER 1956 AND 1952. Washington 25, D.C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports*, October 5, 1956. 3 pp. 10 cents.

HOW WISCONSIN VOTED 1848-1954. By James R. Donoghue. Madison, University of Wisconsin, University Extension Division, Bureau of Government, 1956. 138 pp.

SOME LEGAL PROVISIONS ON THE CONDUCT OF ELECTIONS. Bismarck, League of North Dakota Municipalities, 1956. 7 pp.

### *Judiciary*

INSTITUTE OF JUDICIAL ADMINISTRATION LIBRARY, SELECTED LIST OF ACQUISITIONS, JULY 1955-JUNE 1956. Compiled under the direction of F. J. Klein and M. G. Pimsleur. New York 12, In-

stitute of Judicial Administration, 1956. 31 pp.

JUDGES AND JURORS: THEIR FUNCTIONS, QUALIFICATIONS AND SELECTION. (The Gaspar G. Bacon Lectures on the Constitution of the United States.) By Arthur T. Vanderbilt. Boston, Boston University Press, 1956. 88 pp. \$3.00.

#### **Mental Health**

MENTAL HEALTH IN KANSAS . . . COMMUNITY ACTION. By Margaret Cram. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Governmental Research Center, 1956. 43 pp.

#### **Parking**

PARKING SPACE. What American Cities Are Doing to Provide It. Washington, D.C., American Municipal Association, 1956. 56 pp.

#### **Planning**

A GUIDE FOR ADOPTING AND RECORDING PLANS. A GUIDE FOR JOINT CO-OPERATION IN AREA PLANNING. A GUIDE FOR INITIATING A PLANNING PROGRAM. Fayetteville, University of Arkansas, City Planning Division, 1956. 7, 8 and 9 pp. respectively.

#### **Political Parties**

THE CHANGING PARTY PATTERN. By Paul T. David. (Reprinted from *The Antioch Review*, Fall 1956.) Washington 6, D.C., The Brookings Institution, 1956. 17 pp. Single copies free; five or more, 25 cents each.

#### **Population**

GROWTH TRENDS OF MISSISSIPPI POPULATION CENTERS, 1900-1950. By A. Alexander Fanelli and Harald A. Pedersen. State College, Mississippi State College, Social Science Research Center, 1956. 77 pp.

POPULATION ARLINGTON COUNTY, VIRGINIA. Arlington 1, Arlington County Office of Planning, 1956. 72 pp.

#### **Streets and Highways**

HIGHWAY DEVELOPMENT UNDER THE 1956 FEDERAL AID PROGRAM. An address by Edward H. Holmes before The Municipal Forum of New York, September 21, 1956. New York, the Forum, 1956. 15 pp. (Apply E. A. Mintkeski, The Port of New York Authority, New York 11.)

#### **Subdivisions**

GOVERNMENTAL SUBDIVISIONS IN VIRGINIA. Report of the Virginia Advisory Legislative Council to the Governor and the General Assembly of Virginia. Richmond, Commonwealth of Virginia, Division of Purchase and Printing, 1955. 38 pp.

#### **Surveys**

A LOOK AT OUR CITY . . . ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA. Report One of the Land Use and Economic Base Survey. Alexandria, City Planning Department, 1956. 118 pp. Tables, Charts.

#### **Taxation and Finance**

COUNTY FINANCE IN KANSAS 1952-1954. By James T. McDonald. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Governmental Research Center, 1956. 28 pp.

THE ILLINOIS TAX CLIMATE. Springfield, Taxpayers' Federation of Illinois, 1956. 19 pp. Maps.

STATE AND LOCAL TAX DIFFERENTIALS AND THE LOCATION OF MANUFACTURING. By Clark C. Bloom. Iowa City, State University of Iowa, College of Commerce, Bureau of Business and Economic Research, 1956. 47 pp. \$1.00.

#### **Water Rates**

WATER RATES. For Municipally-owned Water Systems. A Benefit and Cost Evaluation Study. Palmer, League of Alaskan Cities, *Information Bulletin*, September 1956. 9 pp.



Sessions of the All-America Cities Jury, here shown hearing Frank Pineda, city councilman and spokesman for El Campo, Texas, a competing city, were among the most popular at the Memphis Conference. Jury members were, left to right, top row: Leo Perlis, Donald H. Webster, Mrs. Aaron Fischer, Foreman George H. Gallup, Boyd Campbell, Mrs. J. Hugh Knox; bottom row: Vernon C. Myers, Thomas R. Reid, John S. Linen, Harry J. Krusz, Miss Margaret Wilkinson, James M. Osborn, Mrs. Knox, member, board of directors, General Federation of Women's Clubs, and Mr. Linen, vice president, Chase Manhattan Bank, sat as jurors in place of Mrs. R. I. C. Prout and William M. Shepherd, previously announced. (See the REVIEW, October 1956, page 422.)

## Memphis Conference

(Continued from page 525)

ficials. The report was on Luther Gulick's speech, "The Metropolitan Area Looks to the State."

Keynotes of different aspects of the Conference program were struck in an address by Governor Christian A. Herter of Massachusetts, "New Horizons for the States," at the annual dinner, and the closing luncheon address by Mayor R. L. Thornton of Dallas, "Businessmen in Local Government." The Centenary of Woodrow Wilson's birth was celebrated by Richard S. Childs' "Reminiscence of Woodrow Wilson" and Joseph E. McLean's "Woodrow Wilson — Early Modern Governor," which indicated the substantial contribution Wilson made to the thinking behind the program and the still unfinished work of the National Municipal League.

Participation in a number of workshop sessions demonstrated an increas-

ing recognition that the Conference affords a unique opportunity for exchange of information and cooperative thinking on such practical problems as the drafting and revision of city and county charters and the organization and conduct of metropolitan surveys. The "Charter Clinic," held on the first day of the Conference and continued at an adjourned session on Monday, attracted nearly 50 people, while the "Roundup on Metropolitan Survey," which met all day Wednesday, brought together persons involved in official or unofficial studies in more than a score of communities.

Many of the persons attending the Conference had their first Mississippi boat trip and still more their first experience with a catfish fry, after a bus tour of the city Sunday afternoon. These and other arrangements for the entertainment, comfort and convenience of the Conference were carried out with a notable combination of southern charm and efficiency.

Jan.  
Feb.  
March  
April  
May  
June  
July  
Aug.  
Sept.  
Oct.  
Nov.  
Dec.

**LIGHT UP AMERICA...  
IT'S DARKER THAN YOU THINK!**



DAWN

NOON

SUNDOWN

MIDNIGHT

## How does your town plan to combat darkness?

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